NEW TIMES

June 4 – 10, 1991

Who needs emigrants?

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
OCT 16 1991
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

22

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

UK: £0.85
US: $1.40

ISSN 0206-1473

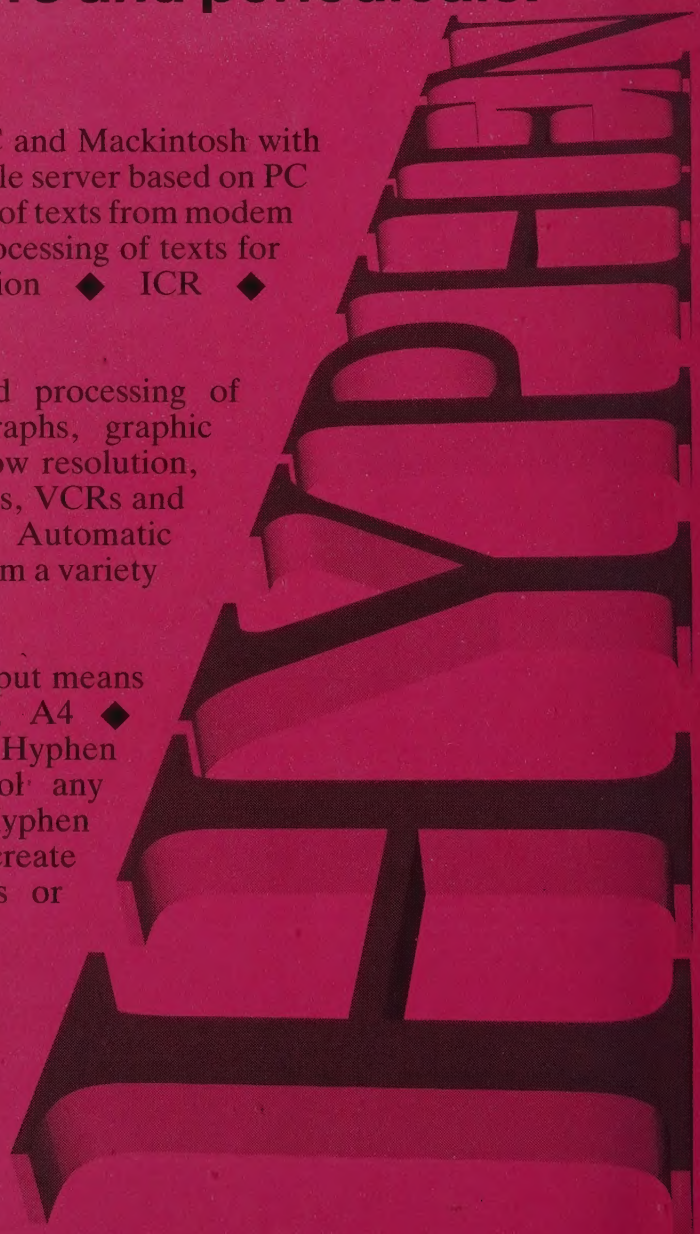
Editorial System Hyphen

Powerful, flexible, effective, user-friendly system for printing daily newspapers and periodicals.

◆ Editorial systems based on IBM PC and Mackintosh with the software package WYSIWYG ◆ File server based on PC or Vax 3000 ◆ The system allows input of texts from modem lines, TTY and word processing. ◆Processing of texts for automatic and interactive imposition ◆ ICR ◆ Advertizing, small ads and exchange◆

◆ System Hyphen allows input and processing of black-and-white and colour photographs, graphic images from a scanner with high or low resolution, connection of phone lines, TV channels, VCRs and scanning equipment for slides ◆ Automatic imposition and output with a choice from a variety of colours◆

◆ System Hyphen includes a data output means on paper of the format A2, A3, A4 ◆ Phototypesetting equipment based on Hyphen Postscript Superset Rip can control any highspeed plotter 1000-3000 ◆ Hyphen datasystem bases allow users to create complete archives on WORM disks or optical reusable disks.◆



HYPHEN
EDITORIAL SYSTEMS

Our experience at your service

Hyphen SPA Via del Tipografo, 6 – 40138 Bologna – Italy Tel. (51) 6015111 Tlx 521628 HYPHEN I – Fax (51)533679

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

No. 22, 1991
Founded 1945

NATION

ELECTIONS **GUESS WHO?** 4
POLITICAL LIFE *V. Ganyushkin* **A GENERAL VYING FOR THE PRESIDENCY** 6
LITHUANIA *E. Bickauskas* **STAYING FIRM** 8
REFLECTIONS *S. Soloveichik* **DEMAGOGY** 10
RUSSIA *Yevgeny Ambartsumov* **A BLESSING FOR PRESIDENCY** 13

General Makashov rushes to the attack

p.6

WORLD

INDIA *S. Irodov M. Salganik L. Zhegalov* **RAJIV IS DEAD: AN EPOCH'S END** 14
ETHIOPIA *A. Bukalov* **A FAREWELL TO THE MENELIK THRONE** 17
OBSERVER'S VIEW *G. Gussione* **A MESSENGER FROM ROME** 18
DISCUSSION FORUM *W. Lapins* **ASSISTING THE REFORMS** 19
A. Kortunov **THE WEST WILL HELP** 20
POLAND *R. Borecki* **SOLIDARNOSC CHANGES ITS FACE** 22
NORTH KOREA *Yu. Starostenko* **MUSEUM ON MOUNT MYOHYANG** 24
NORWAY *A. Polyukhov* **DOCTOR STOCKMAN'S MISTAKE** 26
OBSERVER'S VIEW *V. Kremenyuk* **SECURITY DOES NOT COME CHEAP** 28
BEHIND THE SCENES *S. Babusenko* **WHERE ARE OUR POUNDS?** 29

Yavlinsky's mission and the tight purse of the Seven

p.19

THIRD BASKET

THE WORLD AND US *K. Lyubarsky* **"DEAR COMPATRIOTS"** 30
CHARITY *V. Voina* **FROM ORPHANAGE TO AMERICA** 34
WORLD PAPER IN NEW TIMES **MEMORIES OF LAUGHTER** 36
MANUSCRIPTS DO NOT BURN *E. Tarnovsky* **BODY, SOUL AND PASSPORT** 40
SOCIOLOGIST'S DIARY *L. Ionin* **WHEN THE MIND GOES BLANK** 43
LIFESTYLE *T. Chernova* **WHERE ARE YOU QUEEN OF HEARTS?** 46
RELIGION *Yu. Lebedev* **CHURCH AND POLITICS** 48
FROM OUR MAILBAG **(2)** PEOPLE **(44)**

Madonna pop star

p.38

Cover by Evgeny Gabrielyan

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, USSR. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

NEW TIMES

Editor-in-Chief
Alexander PUMPYANSKY
Associate editors:
Lev BEZYMENSKY
Alexei BUKALOV
Vitaly GANYUSHKIN
Sergei GOLYAKOV
Vitaly IGNATENKO
Leonid MLECHIN
Dmitry POGORZHELSKY
Lev YELIN
Galina SIDOROVA
Marina SHAKINA
Business manager
Alexander ARTEMYEV
Designer Igor SHEIN
Editor-in-Chief of English edition
Vasily KOROLEV
Our own correspondents
Algiers
Mikhail KHROBOSTOV
Belgrade
Gennady SYSOYEV
Berlin
Mikhail PODVIGIN
Bonn
Nikita ZHOLKVER
Bucharest
Sergei SVIRIN
Delhi
Sergei IRODOV
Havana
Vitaly SOBOLEV
London
Sergei BABUSENKO
Mexico
Yuri KUDIMOV
New York
Evgeny ANDRIANOV
Prague
Inna RUDENKO
Pretoria
Nikolai RESHETNYAK
Rome
Pavel NEGOITSA
Stockholm
Alexander POLYUKHOV
Tokyo
Vladimir OVSYANNIKOV
Vienna
Anatoly KOVRIGIN
Warsaw
Rudolf BORECKI

Founders: *New Times* journalists

Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish and Italian

● Printed by Moskovskaya Pravda Press. Telex: 411164a newt SU 411164b newt SU 411164c newt SU
Telefax: 200-42-23, 200-41-92
Advertising Department: 209-11-71; 209-92-82
© New Times

From our mailbag

■ I have been a subscriber to your magazine for quite a few years, and suddenly I thought: "Maybe you can help me?"

From 1978 to 1983 my husband and I lived in the GDR and were on friendly terms with a German family. I met Erika in a maternity hospital where we stayed in one ward. She gave birth to a son, Erich, and I gave birth to my son Valentin. This happened in 1979. We were friends and used to go visiting them – we could not invite Germans to our place: my husband is an officer. And suddenly in the spring of 1983 my friend was arrested for anti-socialist propaganda and put into the Dresden prison. Erika's "propaganda" amounted to nothing more than showing to her friends the letters and photographs she received from her relatives in the FRG. Someone among her friends fulfilled his or her "duty," and the mother of a four-year-old child was put behind bars. I learned then that German security officers traded their citizens for hard currency: they forgave Erika her "grave crime" for a lump sum in West German marks that had been by her West German relatives. You can imagine how many times we were summoned to the special department and what kind of evidence they wanted to get from us. That we have refused to give any evidence you can see from our address: for 8 years now we have been living in that "wonderful" corner of our boundless country.

Erika was sent from prison directly to the FRG. We don't know the address of our friends because at that time we left for the Soviet Union. Maybe there exists some way of finding it out? Our friends' names are Erika Heike-Ohde and Reinhard Ohde.

Yelena Sakhovskaya
Amur Region, USSR

■ Nowadays they talk a lot about vandalism of those who encroach upon the "sacred objects" of the October revolt. But I would like to know what is a bigger vandalism: today's encroachments on Bolshevism or the Bolsheviks' encroachments on their predecessors?

There is a monument to Lenin in the centre of Omsk. In the past, on that eminence there stood a temple where lay the remains of the founder of the city, Leutenant Colonel Buchholz. This summer Omsk is going to celebrate the 275th anniversary of its foundation. There is no monument to the Leutenant Colonel of whom the Communists took a dim view, whereas the founder of the CPSU is immortalized with some 20-plus monuments. Maybe it makes sense (if the temple cannot be restored) to sacrifice at least one monument to Lenin who has never been to Omsk, and put on that place a monument to Buchholz?

V.Prokopiev
Omsk, USSR

■ It is simply bad luck. This year I did not subscribe to *Pravda* and buy it at kiosks if other newspapers are already sold out. And here you are! The March 13 issue has again given the *NT* author Tatiana Ivanova a broadside! I promise to write a letter to *Pravda* – I simply cannot tolerate it any more.

Dear Tatiana Ilynichna! Don't lose heart! I wish you all the best, good health and good nerves (you will need them badly!). Let us hope for the better. I would like to believe that now we cannot be turned back. One can imagine what hard times Boris Nickolaevich Yeltsin is having these days. Yet let us be optimists.

Aleksei Chernysh
Chernigov Region, USSR

■ We in Cuba do not have a publication similar to *New Times*, so I have been reading your political weekly for a long time. Lately it is very difficult to buy it, and one of our newspapers reported that beginning from this year your magazine will not be distributed in Cuba at all. Now I have come to Leningrad and bought all the *NT* issues for this year, but only in Russian. Won't they come out in Spanish at all?

Bernardo Garrido
Cuba

■ I can tell you frankly that it was with utter indignation that I read the article by the deputy chairman of the Union of Journalists of Afghanistan, Zahir Tanin, entitled "Helping a friend is no crime" (No.51/90). It is impossible to tell who in Afghanistan are friends for us Soviet people. Before 1979 Afghan people were friendly with us. The Soviet troops' invasion of that country has changed the attitude of the Afghan people to "shuravi" because our soldiers came there to kill Afghans. They were doing this by order of our top leadership and their commanders who did not have enough courrage to refuse to obey a criminal order.

Zahir Tanin is trying in vain to stir our pity by telling us that innocent children are being killed by the opposition's rockets. I have seen on television Afghan children with torn off arms and legs and could not restrain my tears: I imagine them to be my grandchildren. But they are being killed "thanks" to the aid coming from the Soviet Union which is sending weapons for the continuation of the senseless war.

The author is trying in vain to prove that Najibullah is ready for a truce. It is silly to kill each other for the sake of his ambition.

The deliveries of arms to Afghanistan should be stopped! We must not help continue the fratricidal war, although there is one man among our generals – *Voyenno-Istorichesky Zhurnal* (Military-Historical Journal) editor Victor Filatov – who demands that Soviet troops should be sent back to Afghanistan!

The author has also amazed me with the following statement: "... By helping us you are defending your own interests." Now we are guarantors that it will be quiet on the Soviet border and that Islamic fundamentalism, for which the most extreme part of the Afghan opposition comes out, won't be able to harass Soviet Central Asian republics." And did it "harass" them before 1979? There was nothing of the kind before the notorious "April revolution." Our main interest in

"Our friends were put behind bars, and we were sent into exile."

It is either Leutenant Colonel Buchholz or barrister Ulyanov.

Do "shuravi" still have friends in Afghanistan?

Drawing by Alexei Chervyakov

Afghanistan is the immediate ending of the war and the restoration of that country's wrecked economy.

I have always protested against the military invasion of other countries. I also spoke against the 1968 invasion of Prague by Soviet troops. I have a certificate that was presented to me in Prague on September 26, 1990, and I am an honorary member of the "Prague spring" Journalists' Club.

Nikolai Andriyashin
Tula Region, USSR

■ I read in issue No.14/91 the story by Vladimir Bukovsky entitled "The Helsinki Final Act was paid for in our blood." I think that this country can be proud of such courageous people as Vladimir Bukovsky, Andrei Amalrik, Leonid Plyushch, Valery Sablin and Victor Ilyin. With the cards stacked heavily against them, they began the struggle against one of the world's most reactionary and inhuman regimes – Brezhnevism. It is time in the sixth year of perestroika to call things by their proper names, and if in Germany they honour the fighters against totalitarianism (including those who took part in the plot against Hitler), why in this country do they talk about the true heroes of our times only in a low voice? Maybe because Brezhnevism has not disappeared together with the decrepit superdictator? Then it is clear why our new-found theorists-historiographers have concentrated their farewell fire on Stalinism and are very cautious about giving their assessments of the so-called "stagnation period." The substitution of notions that we are witnessing today is not accidental either: the downfall in Eastern Europe of the Brezhnev-camp regimes is presented as the bankruptcy of the Stalinist model, although these dictators had been nurtured not by Stalin, but already by the five-star marshal-general secretary in whose company the annual Crimean meetings at which East European leaders were coached how to build "developed socialism" took place.

Vyacheslav Malakhin,
lawyer
Moscow, USSR

■ It was with indignation that I read the article by your own correspondent in Bonn Nikita Zholkver entitled "Why aren't they hurrying home?"(No.43/90). The author holds the view that the withdrawl of the Western Group troops should be completed before the end of 1994, and in a high-and-mighty manner lectures our military how it should be done. But the withdrawal of troops from Germany must be precisely a withdrawal and not a hasty flight. It will require hard work, and everything is not so simple as it seems to Zholkver. I think that the article was published with the view of rousing morbid anti-army sentiments among a part of the Soviet Union's population. I, for one, regard the article by the "democrat" Nikita Zholkver as the continuation of an anti-army hysteria in the press.

Major Yu.Tumachek
Maritime Territory USSR.

■ I read in ussue No.52/90 the material by Kronid Lubarsky in which he condemns *Voyenno-Istorichesky Zhurnal* (Military-Historical Journal) for publishing *Mein Kampf*. I have got an impression that that was an attack not on the work by Hitler, but on the magazine of the orientation objectionable for the author. Why didn't Lubarsky protest when *Mein Kampf* was distributed by cooperatives and could be bought right in the streets of Moscow? It is precisely such edition – a copy of a book published by the Union of Russian Fascists in Shanghai with the foreword by Russian fascists from New York – that I got from an anti-Semite, an admirer of Saddam Hussein wishing him victory over the United States and Israel who bought it in Moscow. This is where the real danger is, and not at all in the orientation of the Military-Historical Journal. I see the danger in the fascism that potentially exists in Russia and rests upon the shadow economy. People don't want to work, but want to live in grand style, and to attain that goal they are prepared to march to the slogans from *Mein Kampf* and are looking for an enemy among Jews and Communists.

The point is not whether to publish books by the ideologists of fascism or not, but to expose fascism itself. One shouldn't use far-fetched pretexts to attack the publication – whatever its orientation, it does not stand on positions of fascism.

V.Orlov
Oryol Region, USSR

APPEAL

Eight-year-old Gurudatt Sharma, my only son, is suffering from cerebral palsy. The treatment for this terrible desease is rhizotomy operation, which must be performed before the age of 12.

It is available in India at the Nizams Institute of Medical Sciences, Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh), costing about 75,000. This is totally beyond my reach to get the treatment done.

A little more effort on your part can help this flower to blossom.

Please send your donation as soon as possible so that the operation date could be fixed with the doctor.

S.K.Sharma
491/1 Santi Niketan
Civil lines Datia (M.P.)
475 661 INDIA

Compiled by
Tatiana Chernova

ELECTIONS

Guess

On the election day of June 12 you will know the answer

who?

Russia's brief presidential campaign has produced some surprises. Vladimir Zhirinovsky, chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party, has done his best to make himself known in the country and not to be taken seriously.

Aman-geldy Tuleyev, chief executive from Kemerovo Region, has proved that even an overwhelming support in an individual region is not enough for a candidate aspiring to stage a revolution across all Russia.

General Albert Makashov, who had been involved in the storming of the Yerevan airport, tongue-lashed Gorbachev at last year's CPSU gathering and had serious disagreements with war veterans, has promised to fight cosmopolitans.

Communists of Russia have been uncharacteristically realistic when they nominated no candidate of their own, but opted to count on "the weeping Bolshevik," former premier Nikolai Ryzhkov, who has happily forgot thát throughout last year the whole country was swept with demands for his resignation. Ryzhkov explained that the economy was ailing, he was in sound health and Gorbachev was in too much of a hurry to have jettisoned his prime minister. Evidiently, Ryzhkov will get the votes of those who are sure he would not handle economic matters if elected. Otherwise the people of Russia may not last until the next elections.

The democratic camp has two grudges against Vadim Bakatin. First, for his refusal to become Yeltsin's candidate for vice-presidency. Second, for his having dared to become a rival of the one and only Democratic candidate. He has proved himself as a good administrator and a decent person. He deserves a better job than his current obscure position in the Security Council, although he lacks the image of an independent politician necessary for any president.

As for Boris Yeltsin, the country has been speaking about and discussing him for about five years already. Several weeks of campaigning have not changed the electors' attitude to the man without whom the presidential campaign in Russia would have never become a reality.

Drawing by Igor Shein

A general vying for the presidency

When they were – equally surprisingly as the German invasion in 1941 – hit by perestroika, they quickly hid themselves in ditches, and shetlers. Like the rest of Soviets, they at first had an illusion that the first bombardment was a preparation for something big and serious which can pose a direct threat to them, to our innumerable and ineradicable – in internal and external wars – generals of socialism.

During some time (until the illusion dispersed), they were sitting quietly and doing the Motherland no harm (in contrast to what they did for decades in the past). It was a kind of a ditch-in: "We refuse to harm the country if you treat us like that; see how you gonna get along without us!" In fact, we found ourselves no better off than before. When carcasses of the last remaining domestic animals were snatched from the "battlefield" (which was intently observed all the time by the generals from the ditches where they took refuge), and when the people (who never learned anything even after the shock treatment) began to look around seeking saviours among those who extol to the skies the pre-perestroika times, the generals of socialism commanded themselves: "Out of the trenches!"

They came out with marching songs and traditional incantations: For the Motherland! For Stalin! For Makashov! For Polozkov, Nina Andreyeva, Col. Alksnis, Smirnov-Ostashvili, Ryzhkov, and for the CPSU, this embodiment of the intellect, honour, and conscience of the present times! For People's Deputy Goryacheva, for the zombie-like CPSU leader from Tyumen who can see a CIA agent inside every oil well, and for the rabid proponents of kolkhoz-sovkhoz agriculture, Starodubtsev and his brothers! Such characters are many: after all, our one sixth of the land's surface also accounts for one sixth of the humankind's wisdom. We also built one sixth of socialism, with our one sixth of brains. So they left the ditches in order to protect this socialism.

Judging from public utterances of representatives of the commanders of the "stagnation-time" troops, the morale among the worriors for that cause is high. Why should it be low, since the main danger has been safely avoided? Of course, they bullied us with their democracy and openness in the Kremlin a bit, gave us the creeps – but that only served us a good service: now we can brace up ourselves and close our ranks. Now we have the decisive advantage: we know what we want to protect. It is only with less important people that the Motherland is associated with a lonely birch-tree by the window. With us, generals, it is an entire birch forest abounding in mushrooms, all in our personal possession, and a dacha with a gang of special messengers and limos: after signing a daily portion of documents, you can take your wife, in a limo, to a far-

Drawing by Arkady Gursky

mers' market to swear there on the account of high market prices.

As for the non-coms and other ranks, we also think about them and care for them. We, generals, always keep council with non-coms. We can't do otherwise, because this is the essence of the country of Soviets (which means "counsel"). If we could have our way, we would put non-commissioned officers in all the Soviets, because a non-com is superior to a democrat, being a man of order and discipline. He is a "servant to the tsar and father to the soldier," as a saying goes. He will never muddle up a matter, though never resolve an issue either.

Therefore, the Soviets must be made up of non-coms only. It is a sensible idea but cannot be implemented for the democrats and other radicals. Life could have been returned to the former order, the Motherland desecrated by perestroika could have been restored to its former glory, and the people could have been again given as much food as they can eat, but for the democrats who are a real nuisance.

General Albert Makashov's recent attack against the USSR President's senior adviser, Alexander Yakovlev, published in the *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (Independent Newspaper), was more explicit than any extended political speech could be and drew – in spite of all calls for solidarity – a deep watershed between the pro-perestroika reformists and hard-liners. Alexander Yakovlev's angry but dignified retort in a brilliant piece of fine journalism left no doubt in the outcome of that duel. But it was not worth the effort, since the C-in-C of the Volga-Urals Military District, General Makashov already publicly displayed his moral inferiority in his interview published by the press under a preposterous title: "I Always Keep Counsel with My Non-Commissioned Officers" and in his recent speech at the congress.

He showed himself in a full splendour of a final product of the stagnation times, nostalgic for the blessed era of ideological integrity, unanimity and uniformity of utterances, when decision-making could be done on sheer instinct present in everyone from the CPSU ruling upper crust and needed no brainwork (so that impulses from speeches delivered even at the meetings of the supreme bodies of power didn't get to the cortex or deeper). Those were idyllic times of ideological harmony, when the iron curtain played a role of a strong shield, the state border was sealed, allies were kept on a short leash, and the enemy was always at hand: the only concern was to strengthen the Armed Forces and be rewarded for that with new ranks and decorations.

But today it is different: people like Alexander Yakovlev played real havoc, clamouring about "new thinking" and "human values." Everything is in a disarray. Everyone is in a muddle. It isn't even clear who is the target to fire at. Enough is enough! It's time we form ranks, form fours, and launch an attack!

The monologues of the martinet are more than answers to journalists' questions. In fact, the General described his dream about an ideal and well-disciplined society with life organized on a military pattern. This spine-chilling gibberish is all the more disgusting at the understanding that it is not 100-percent utopian.

Don't believe that there can be no return to the practices of the past, because we are not very far away from the past, with the country dug up with ditches from which Generals and non-coms rise for an attack. They not only imitate an attack: who can guarantee that very suspicious and apparently poorly controlled manoeuvres of our run-of-the-mill strategists taking place in Transcaucasia are not premeditated provocation aimed at undermining emerging social peace and political concord of the confronting parties?

We seem to be a unique nation destined to dwell in the past for ever, which is attested to by the phenomenon of Makashov. Makashovism has been with us since the times described by Saltykov-Shchedrin. It survived the October Revolution and the Great Attempt which we until recently called "perestroika," the word which has been used so intensively that people are sick of it and even those who has coined it try to use it as rarely as possible nowadays. Generals of socialism (Communist party bosses, and people steering national economy, politics and ideology) have left their ditches. Some of them have collected an imposing number of the electorate's signatures in their support enabling them to enter a contest for Russia's presidency, a position of crucial importance also for control of the USSR. Russians and non-Russians of the Russian Federation, people, be vigilant! I hope that life in a country turned into a vast military camp is not your ideal.

Vitaly Ganyushkin

CLASSIFIED

● *The Moscow Project Management joint venture company offers business tours of the USSR, including briefings on Soviet market potentials, Soviet legislation, methods of choosing a suitable business partner, negotiation of deals, seminars, and consultations; a cultural programme, accommodations and everyday services, as well as business services. For further information contact Svetlana Tumasyants, project manager, at: 50, Bolshaya Pereyaslavskaya St., Moscow 129041, USSR*
Tel.: 280-69-24, fax: 280-88-37, telex: 4116, teletype: 207872 PINE.

● *NOVOSTI-McCANN OFFERS:*
– Soviet market research;
– facilities for publishing and broadcasting commercials in the USSR;
– design and arrangement of advertizing campaigns in the USSR and abroad;
– a variety of services for production of film, photo, video, and printed advertisement;

NOVOSTI-McCANN

– market promotion, public relations, advertizing events; company imaging;
– organization of exhibitions, symposia, seminars, press conferences and presentations.
If you are looking for a partner in the marketing and advertizing in the USSR, or if you aspire to enter the Soviet or the world's market, contact the NOVOSTI-McCANN joint venture at: 4, Zubovsky Boulevard, Moscow 103786, USSR
Tel.: 201-88-37, or 246-79-56; fax: 230-21-70, or 230-21-19, or 230-22-94; telex: 411323.

● *Attention: managers of small-scale and joint-venture companies; integrated scientific, technological, industrial, and commercial centres; cooperative companies, ad-hoc artistic associations; business entrepreneurs in the USSR and abroad. New Times readers want to have your suggestions about commodities, services, ideas, technologies, new developments in any sphere of production, business, construction, medicine, economic management, the arts, agriculture, handicrafts, sports, finances, etc.*
The Новое Время – Design advertizing and marketing agency offers you space in the "Classified" section which is featured in our Russian, English and German editions.
For detailed information, dial: 209-9282, or 209-3382 in Moscow, or send us a fax message at: 200-4223, or telex: 411164 b newt SU

© НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ DESIGN

Staying firm

Egidijus BICKAUSKAS, Permanent Representative of the Lithuanian Republic in Moscow, answers questions from Marina Shakina and Alexander Chudodeyev of *New Times*

New Times. TASS has circulated information which referred to the telegram sent by the head of the Lithuanian government, Vagnoris, to the top leaders of the USSR. According to TASS, the telegram said in particular: "The government of the Lithuanian Republic approves of the programme of actions presented by the Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR and intended to overcome the economic crisis. The government of the Lithuanian Republic declares its preparedness to immediately start working out a draft treaty." Has anything changed in the positions of the Lithuanian leadership?

Egidijus Bickauskas. We have never rejected or opposed development of economic relations with the Soviet Union. We have been speaking about a bilateral treaty since independence of Lithuania was declared on March 11, 1990. At the sittings of the Council of the Federation, I have repeatedly stressed that Lithuania is able and willing to participate in the elaboration of an integrated economic strategy, but on the basis of partnership.

NT. Do you not think that this telegram by the Lithuanian Premier is composed in milder terms than previous messages? One more thing: why should the Lithuanian Republic voice even "general" support of the Pavlov programme?

E.B. Moscow keeps asking us questions on various matters. We have to react somehow, because the Pavlov programme contains some paragraphs that directly affect us. As for the tone of the Vagnoris message, I would like to say that we have become more diplomatic recently. We have learned a thing or two in the past year, and this includes diplomacy...

NT. You always used to make it clear that what was happening in the Soviet Union had nothing to do with Lithuania.

E.B. I have never shared this approach. I believe that Lithuania cannot stay aloof from what is going on in the USSR. Moreover, we cannot stay aloof from what is going on in China, the Persian Gulf, Japan... I understand sovereignty and independence as a nation's right to a free choice. So far Lithuania has no such right. Like no other Soviet republic has. When I read the draft Union Treaty and see the paragraph stipulating the republics' "voluntary joining the USSR," I feel like laughing. I attended the sittings of the Council of the Federation when the draft treaty was elaborated and, you can trust me, I know what this "voluntary joining" is worth in reality.

NT. Recently, the news agency InterFax alleged that you condemned the parliament of Lithuania for its policies vis-à-vis Moscow. Is this really so?

E.B. I am afraid, InterFax must have confused things. I only spoke about our common mistakes. Most strongly I blamed myself for my having been unable to talk the Kremlin out of sending tanks into Vilnius. Our strategy vis-à-vis Moscow has been right. However, we could have achieved more. I believe, for instance, that at the Second Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR we should not have satisfied ourselves with the mere confirmation of the existence of the secret protocols annexed to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, but should have also insisted that those protocols be connected with 1940, with the occupation of the Baltics. Soviet leaders are afraid of precedents. They proceed from the belief that if they let the Baltics go, the whole Union will collapse as a house of dominoes. However, the recognition of a connection between the secret protocols and the 1940 occupation would have allowed them to declare the Baltics a special case.

There were other errors as well. I was certain, for example, that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia needed a referendum. Such a referendum was carried out, but, unfortunately, there had to be January 13 in Vilnius to make it a reality.

A burned customs post on the Lithuanian border

NT. Why didn't Lithuania take the path Armenia has taken, which is to strictly follow the law on secession from the USSR? You will hardly gain independence sooner than in five years...

E.B. The law you are referring to was adopted after Lithuania had declared independence. But this is not the main thing. In the current atmosphere, with the current composition of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, with the existing voting procedure, Moscow can easily adopt a new law stipulating tougher secession terms in, say, six months. Even when it did participate in the work of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Lithuania had no influ-

ence there. More than a half of the Supreme Soviet members represent the Russian Republic. This is one thing. The other thing, which is most important in my opinion, is that we must not backpedal on our initial position that the Constitution of the USSR does not apply to Lithuania. By doing so we would have dealt a heavy blow, including on the stance of the West which has never recognized the annexation of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. However, if bilateral negotiations take place between Lithuania and Moscow, we might approach the recognition of some basic points of the law on secession. I believe, that even if we are losing time now, from the viewpoint of the future we will stand to gain if we just stick to our principled stance.

NT. What is your attitude to the new political organization, the Forum for Lithuanian Future. Besides the former premier, Mrs. Prunskiene, and her former deputy, Brazauskas, the Forum unites some founding fathers of Sajudis. The Forum seems to advocate Lithuania's participation in the new Union Treaty with a special status.

E.B. The information that the Forum advocates some special status for Lithuania within a renewed Union is not correct. Landsbergis and Prunskiene have the same strategic objectives but their tactics differ.

NT. What is hindering the negotiations now?

E.B. The Soviet Union refuses to accept the obvious fact that negotiations must result in something. In particular, we want them to result in the restoration of Lithuanian independence. We believe that this is a matter of principle. Today, even the least significant problems of our relations with Moscow become political issues, be it the conscription campaign or Lithuania's payments to the Soviet budget. Many problems would have been resolved immediately, had the centre recognized our right to independence. As for the Kremlin, it intends to negotiate with us as with nothing more than a rebel Soviet republic.

The Soviet embassy in the United States refuses to issue visas to representatives of Lithuanian emigration whom we invite to participate in various, mostly cultural, gatherings. In their time, the KGB and the Lithuanian branch of the CPSU blacklisted some Lithuanian emigrants and these people remain barred from entering the Soviet Union. This was one of the facts that marred last year's traditional song festival. And after all this, Moscow wants Lithuania's love...

NT. What do you hope for?

E.B. Sooner or later Moscow will have to undo the Lithuanian knot. Moscow is wrong in believing it can scare us by tanks, economic strangulation and repressions. The January 13 events showed that such actions can only be counter-productive. We understand, of course, that the Soviet Union is a gigantic nation that can crush Lithuania in a split second. This is partly the reason why we are rather belligerent. Our attitude is supposed to tell Moscow: we are not afraid. Sometimes we even overdo this a bit.

On their part, the Baltics must convince Moscow that the Soviet Union will not lose anything if it lets the three Baltic republics go. By letting the Baltics go, the Soviet Union will thus build a bridge between the East and the West. If it fails to do so, however, it will go on having one more conflict area for years to come... Not to speak of the fact that such stubborness on the part of Moscow will inevitably affect the Soviet Union's relations with the West. Even those Western leaders who are now reluctant to complicate their relations with Gorbachev over the Baltics, will have no choice but to bring pressure to bear on Moscow. They will be forced to by their parliaments and public... I am sure that one of the factors that aborted the planned Soviet-American summit in February was the protests from the American public against the Kremlin's punitive policies in the Baltics.

NT. How does the Soviet army behave in Lithuania now?

E.B. The problem of the army must be solved. Today it is important to define the legal status of the troops deployed in Lithuania. The longer the problem remains unsettled, the more complicated the situation will grow for both sides.

NT. Has there been any progress in the problem of the status of non-Lithuanians who would like to adopt Lithuanian citizenship but also to preserve ties with Russia? You do not allow double citizenship, do you?

E.B. Negotiations with Russia are under way. We have already finalized a draft treaty on this issue. The accusations that Boris Yeltsin abandoned Russians living in the Baltics are false accusations. When he entered negotiations with us, he wanted to define his compatriots' rights in a legal manner so as to later protect those rights in a legal manner. In general, we are maintaining a normal negotiating process with Russia. Now, for example, we are going to discuss and solve the problems connected with the Kaliningrad Region.

NT. What is happening on Lithuanian borders and at Lithuanian border posts?

E.B. Provocations on the part of the Soviet army and police do not stop. I do not think the centre had ordered such provocations – they are too small. However, the centre is also responsible, because it does not react to these provocations in any way. The army and the OMON (special-purpose riot police) feel that they will not be punished for the outrage, they may even feel silent support. That is why they are venturing independent actions practically every day – setting fire to border posts, ransacking or attacking them... Although Lithuanian law enforcers are strictly forbidden to retaliate, in this very nervous atmosphere Lithuanian border guards and policemen can fail to exercise restraint...

Presidential elections will soon take place in Russia. And Lithuania is a custom-made testing site where to try provocations that can divert the attention of some segments of Russian and Soviet public from domestic affairs... Frankly speaking, the feeling of apprehension is there... ■

"We will not return fire..."

Audrius Butkevicius, Director-General of the Department for Defence of Lithuania

Someone may think that the outrage at Lithuanian customs posts is purely incidental. This is not so. This is a part of Moscow's broader plan to bring pressure to bear on the republic. We are being attacked along four lines: economic pressure, political isolation, military intimidation and the KGB efforts to further destabilize the situation.

Everything is being done to provoke Lithuania into some form of retaliation, so as to start an armed conflict, a small-scale civil war in the republic. This would give the centre the pretext for a massive intervention. What the centre failed to do in January, it is trying to accomplish now. Our task is not to succumb to the provocations. During the past year my service has been busy neutralizing various provocations committed by the army and the OMON. So far we have been successful. But I am not sure if we will tomorrow. The situation on the border is getting worse every day. They set fire to customs posts, blow them up, beat up our officers. Customs officers do not bear arms: that must be the reason why the OMON behave so brazenly. These actions also have a purely psychological impact. What is the aim of these actions? First, to show that anyone who wants independence becomes a living target for the OMON. Second, to make people feel unprotected and helpless. We must withstand the pressure. Under no circumstances will we return fire if fired at...

Demagogy

Simon Soloveichik

What's going on? The heyday has come at last. Don't you feel it? Stagnation, perestroika and now – the heyday. Stagnation in demagogy, perestroika in demagogy, the heyday of ideology

I didn't feel like writing this article, I took my time over it and said to myself, "Come off it! What's the use? Nothing will change, look what the others are writing – and what happened? Just sit back and relax!"

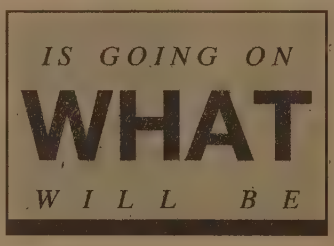
Then I felt as if I had struck a mine – I just couldn't help writing. The mine which blew up my conscience was an *Izvestia* report about two and a half billion rubles having been thrown to the winds by the builders of the Gorky Motor Works' new production lines.

Two and a half billion rubles! Not in the sticks somewhere, but very much in the public eye, in Nizhny Novgorod, at one of the country's largest plants which is, of course, under the supervision of the government, the appropriate ministry and the Central Committee. Which means that this is not a case of some local incompetent's blunder – no, this is a case of a major embezzlement of public funds by the state. And for the umpteenth time no inquiry commission, no prosecutor – nothing. The embezzlers feel perfectly safe in their political bullet-proof jackets.

No gangsters are more horrible and no saboteurs are meaner than the types who are capable of throwing out two and a half billion rubles in public – a product of hard work – brazenly and with a sense of total impunity.

The case of Russia's 140 billion, of which not a kopeck was spent, got sensational treatment overnight. It stirred the KGB to action and brought people's deputies to microphones... And now billions have been irretrievably lost – and no one seems to mind.

Two and a half billion rubles have been buried, and in the meantime our TV announcers tell us from day to day, wearing a mournful expression on their clean-shaven faces (or pursing their rouged lips) how many million rubles the coalminers' strike has cost the nation. What they keep mum about is that the miners are fighting against the system which thinks nothing of throwing billions to the winds, that the miners' strike is intended not to cause losses, but to ensure a steady income for the nation, for you and me. Neither have we been told that while on strike, the miner supplied 95-100 percent of coal reserves, getting practically no meat or other food products in exchange. So whom are we to be angry at: those who give us almost all of their output, or those who give us nothing and what's more, throw our hard-earned money to the winds?



Demagogy of demagogies

After Mathiast Rust had landed on Red Square, lots of heads rolled. An army officer fled to Germany with a shell under his arm – and more heads rolled.

After two billion and a half had been buried under the Ryzhkov government, nothing happened. Business is usual and Ryzhkov is running for President. Indeed, Russia is now in a bad need of this expert at ruining, of this epitome of mismanagement. It simply cannot do without him.

Why are you so upset, I ask myself, what's going on?

One of the leading Party papers complains editorially that some people "allege it is impossible to live under the present regime."

What are they talking about? This regime is perfectly all right, it lives and lets people live.

This regime is fine. I agree. But give, God damn you, give those two and a half billion rubles back to the people and then we shall discuss whether these "allegations" are true or not.

"Our ruling Party," I read in an article by a secretary of the Central Committee...

Ruling? In that case it should pay reparations for this loss of two and a half billion rubles, let it give this money back to us if it rules. From its budget...

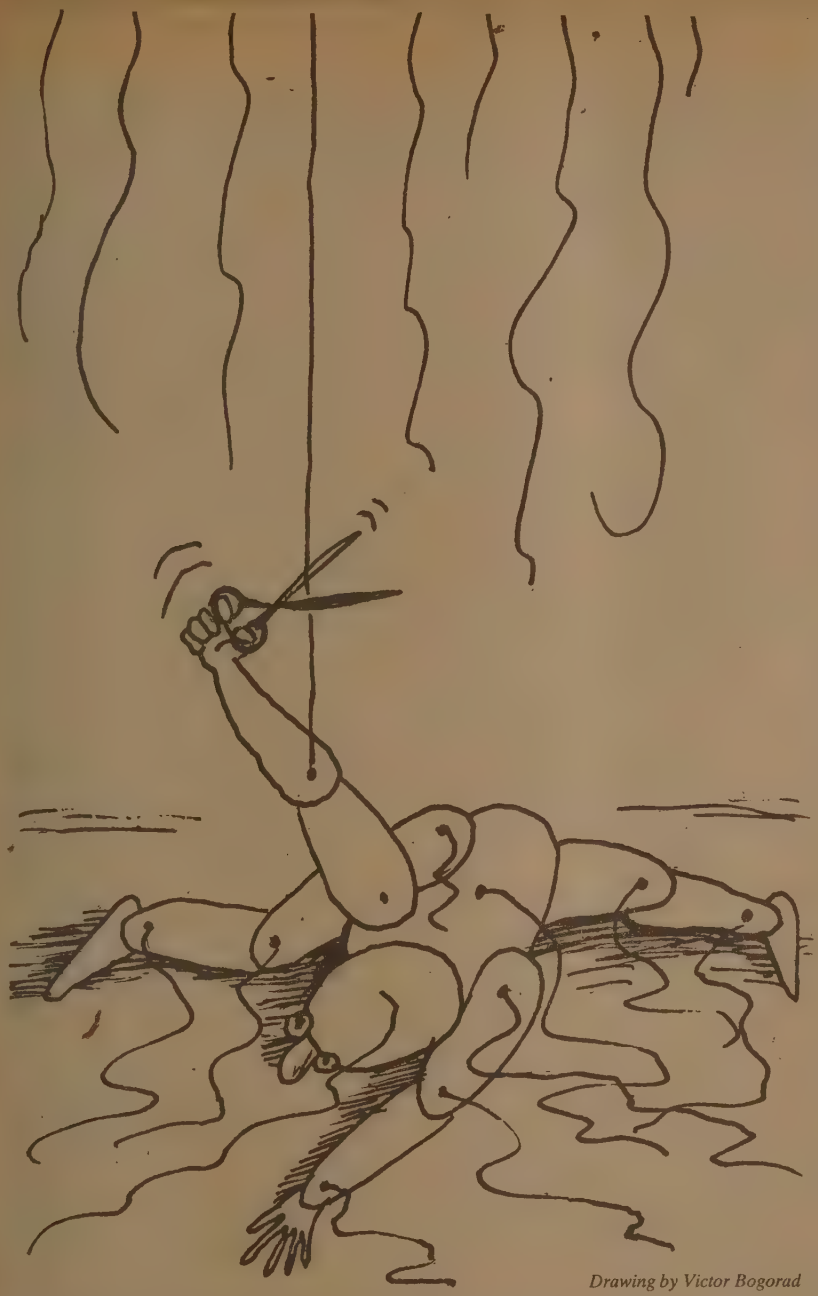
Hey, wait a minute, they say, we are not ruling any longer, we have nothing to do with the economy. Oh, is that right? But who has appointed all those directors, chief engineers – haven't their candidatures been put forward and endorsed at Party Committee sessions?

The dilemma is this: if the Party is the ruling one, let it pay from its own pocket for any people's ruble lost. If it is not ruling, then let it...

I shall keep mum about that.

But the whole thing is that this Party is neither ruling nor sympathizing, neither vanguard nor acting – it is demagogical through and through. It is not only its theory that is demagogical; demagogical is the word to describe its theory, its practice, its speeches, its very essence, its flesh and blood.

WHAT IS DEMAGOGY? Not so long ago, in Pushkin's times, "demagogy" was a perfectly decent word. "I divide my time between aristocratic lunches and demagogical disputes," the poet wrote from his southern exile, and the compilers of the Dictionary of Pushkin's Language point out that demagogue means "popoular movement, revolutionary." Pushkin engaged in revolutionary conversations. Much later, Dahl (for all his obvious revulsion towards the word) wrote that demagogue was also a democrat, "an extreme democrat fighting for power in the name of the people;... a champion of anarchy wishing to overthrow the system of govern-



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

ment." In their eighty-volume encyclopaedia, Brockhaus and Efron skipped the word altogether. In 1893 it carried no topical meaning. It is only our time and our history that have filled it with sinister sense. Demagogy has been the end and has now become a means and a form of fraud. A 1935 dictionary defines demagogy as "playing up to the instincts of ignorant masses for selfish purposes"; a 1952 dictionary as "a means of deception by means of false promises, flatter and a deliberate distortion of facts." Another definition of demagogy is: "the chief means by which the bourgeois parties seek to keep the popular masses under their control." As demagogy flourished, Sergei Ozhegov recorded in his dictionary another relatively new meaning of the word: "Discourses or demands based on a crudely one-sided interpretation of something." In one of latest dictionaries, demagogy received a new interpretation: "high-faluting discourses covering up ulterior motives."

EXAMPLES. Dictionary entries are illustrated by examples. One of them is as follows: "Demagogy of bourgeois politicians." Why should we discuss bourgeois politicians? Let us turn to our own, and we shall see that one could comply a long catalogue of demagogical cliches and arguments which frequently recur in the papers and TV programmes.

Let me refer to the coalminers' strike again. Strikes do incur losses – this is not a lie, this is gospel truth, and that's why the TV announcers feel no qualms about quoting six-digit loss figures. But isn't this "a grossly one-sided interpretation of facts," i.e., demagogy?

Another subject is public meetings. Our papers write about "public meetings sweeping through the country," about "collective farmers who are immune to the public-meeting empidemic and who keep working in the fields," about the "megaphone rule."

In other words, it is being inculcated in us from day to day that those who attend public meetings are chatter boxes and idlers who are bringing our state to ruin. "Why go to public meetings, one can get all the information one wants from TV programmes," I read in a nation paper.

Demagogy. It is not public meetings these authors really object to, they recently held an army officers' meeting themselves; they object to what is said at those meetings and to the fact that the meetings cannot be ordered about.

And here is a fresh sample of demagogy: "We've had enough architects and superintendents of perestroika. Today we need practical workers, brick-layers" (*Pravda*). This sounds true – we do need practical workers and "bricklayers," don't we? But what this high-faluting phrase really means is that we need the "architects" and "superintendents" above all else. The ones we have now have proved no good, well, let's get others! Such is the meaning of the journalistic passage. The innocent sounding phrase like "enough of your talk, get down to work" actually means just one thing: do as you are told and keep your traps shut...

Demagogy is always linked up with the truth and has a point in common with it: idle talkers are indeed unpopular, and there is indeed nothing to talk about. But a demagogue uses the truth only to cover himself up by it, to hide behind it, and thus to pull through a lie. Molotov quotes Stalin as saying: "The truth is guarded by battalions of lies." That was what he thought and that was the principle on which he acted. But the truth guarded by battalions of lies always proves to be a lie in the end.

MONUMENTS. I shall give you a striking example of that, too, striking, perhaps: monuments. The news that the Lenin monuments or – horrible dictum – tanks commemorating our war dead are pulled down somewhere stir up bouts of indignation.

It seems to be only too obvious what the reaction to these incidents should be. The memory of the dead and sacred objects ought to be treated with reverence...

But why, then, didn't anyone protest, meekly at least, against the pulling down of the Stalin monuments all over the land? First of all, the removal of these monuments had been orders from "on high," and such orders leave no room for reverence in anyone's soul, so there was no sign of protest. Second, the Stalin monuments stood in the new leaders' way to the district and regional Party Committees. Because in those years anti-Stalinism was the passport to those Committees. And Lenin on a pedestal is like a cast-iron policeman guarding the entrance to the District Party Committee, and the hue and cry raised today is well organized because it is clear to all: if Lenin is removed from his pedestal today, tomorrow it will be the District Committee's turn. Lenin guards the District Committee – consequently, leave him alone, let's not fall into barbarism, let's not behave like those who in the years of the revolution – and so on and so forth...

Who desecrated the commemorative tank in Czecho-Slovakia – those who smeared it with mud at night? That's right, of course. But actually those who replaced the monument dating back to the year 1945 with that dating back to the year 1968 – that was an insult to the memory of the dead, that was blasphemy, that was a tragedy! I cannot say how it feels to see, out of one's window, a tank which has brought liberation – and then disaster to the liberated... So who was it who has desecrated the memory of the fallen heroes – today's youngster or yesterday's politician? At any rate, let us pay both of them their due. Otherwise the whole thing is demagogy at the expense of what we ought to hold sacred – the memory of the dead.

In general, we ought to tread carefully: in those countries there are monuments at least, in our own Novgorod Region youngsters dig out the remains of unburied soldiers from the bogs. Unburied for fifty years – just think of that! Demagogy of demagogies!

FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE. So far so good, but the worst is still to come – as we look through the catalogue of demagogy, we are coming to the main thing. Says a prominent Party leader: "Even common human values are unthinkable without social justice and concern for those who make their own living. We have undertaken to give them concern when we – sincerely and in good faith, not out of hypocrisy or for self-seeking reasons – joined the ranks of the Communists."

This is a masterpiece – but not the acme – of demagogy. He kicked at common human values, just in passing (and you can't find fault with him, he is a master demagogue!) by absurdly opposing them to justice; hinted at someone who had joined the party "out of hypocrisy" (the undercurrent of his article makes his target obvious) – but all these are just attending pirouettes. But let us not ask ourselves the crucial question in this context – is it the Party that has undertaken to show concern for those who earn their own living? The Party which has driven the worker to stark poverty, to starvation, to stupor? Is it the present Communists whose rule (remember "the ruling party"?) robs the workers of two and a half, if not more, billion rubles a day that show concern for those making their own living?

They castigate *Ogonyok* and *Moscow News*. All right, just open the copy of *Stroitelnaya Gazeta* which contains the following statistics: since 1973-1974 the losses caused by the squandering of the nation's energy resources have surpassed the damage done by the Great Patriotic War. Is that what they call concern for the workingman? Or pick up the copy of *Inzhenernaya Gazeta* which says that even at the official estimate, latent industrial unemployment in this country amounts to 30 percent. According to the same copy of *Inzhenernaya gazeta*, a third of our collective and state farms use fuel, lubricants, equipment and fertilizers to a sum twice or thrice the worth of their output.

Which means that they produce a third (I repeat, a third!) of what they consume.

According to the Russian Federation's Minister of Forestry, forest fires destroy as much wood as is logged – annually.

Those who have undertaken "honestly and in good faith" to show concern for the workingman are all out to keep this system which impoverishes this workingman and ruins the country's economy. Has the world seen the like of such demagogues?

THOSE GUILTY OF THE MESS are now very much in evidence: you can read about them in all the Party papers. The municipal economy of a number of cities has fallen into decline "owing to the incompetence of their new 'fathers'."

Demagogy again.

First of all, there are no new leaders in any cities, anywhere, because the Party is as ever in control of 90 percent of the industry. Yuri Prokofiev, Moscow's Party boss, said in an interview that a Central Committee secretary had held a conference, with the Party secretaries of the regions which supply food to Moscow attending, and that from now on the situation would improve. Now it is clear who decides the Muscovites' fate and where the supply problems are dealt with. This time they have decided to supply food to Moscow; some other time they will decide against it and then... The decisions are made in Staraya Ploshchad, not in the Moscow Soviet.

And second, isn't it now clear to all that if all property formally belongs to the state, and actually to the Party, the democrats and the democratic councils cannot handle it in any way – this is impossible because you cannot handle somebody else's property. Consequently, the Party which assures the people in each of its resolutions that it adheres to democracy actually betrays democracy at its every step while shouting from the rooftops about "the incompetence of new leadership..." Lenin's headline *What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight Against Social-Democrats* sounds quite topical today.

A fantastic book has come out recently, and I recommend it to all. It's called *140 Conversations with Molotov*. This book is certain to come for a great deal of comment because it discloses with unprecedented clarity the great demagogy the party of the "protectors of the people" has been, and still is, leaning upon.

"Meat is not available anywhere in the country," Molotov is told.

Here is his response:

"To hell with meat, we want to see imperialism kick the bucket, and that's the main thing!"

When asked about mass repressions, he replied:

"I think any means is good towards the end, which is to keep in power!"

Incidentally, one can often hear that Stalin did not know about mass shootings, that there is not a single summary death verdict bearing Stalin's signature to be found in the archives.

"Well you can find some," the honest Molotov admitted... "we signed such verdicts together... Stalin signed them for the Party, and I for the government. Those documents gave many a rough time."

Those people had a demagogical excuse for all their deeds: "Otherwise it will be worse still, otherwise there will be more victims."

They killed tens of millions of innocent people – otherwise it would have been worse still. They annihilated the cream of army officerdom, let Hitler as far in as the Volga – and did the right thing, otherwise it would have been worse still!

The invasion of Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 was justified by the following argument: "Otherwise a world war would have broken out."

This article can be carried on infinitely, because there is no end to losses and to demagogy in sight. I have just learned that our pharmacies have run out of heart medicines because of the coalminers' strike. Being a major consumer of such medicines, I testify here that there were none as far back as January. Demagogy. Words and actions in the name of the people, but against the people. ■

A blessing for presidency

Evgeny Ambartsumov,
a People's Deputy of
the Russian Federation

The Fourth Congress of People's Deputies of Russia has consolidated the emerging democracy. The changes to the Constitution of the Russian Republic which the congress adopted pave the way to the doctrine of division of power: a strong executive branch headed by the president, and an authoritative legislative branch controlling it. Although the third pillar of democracy, the judicial branch, has not yet been created – the law on constitutional court was not approved by the congress and was postponed for later discussion – legal reform has already begun.

The adoption of the law on local self-government is the beginning of the end of the system of Soviets, which embraces a whole system of impotent Soviets which are often used as a disguise by the actually ruling Communist Party nomenklatura. It was not incidental that the fourth congress was convened at the time when reform of power was being widely discussed in both capital cities of Russia, Moscow and Leningrad. Endless disagreements between city and district authorities, Soviets consisting of hundreds of members and chairmen of such Soviets have been graphic illustration of the crisis of power in the Soviet Union's two largest cities. When I once came to a session of the district Soviet from which I had been elected to Russia's parliament, I was shocked to see about two hundred deputies trying to work out something that could be described as district laws, instead of getting down to concrete business.

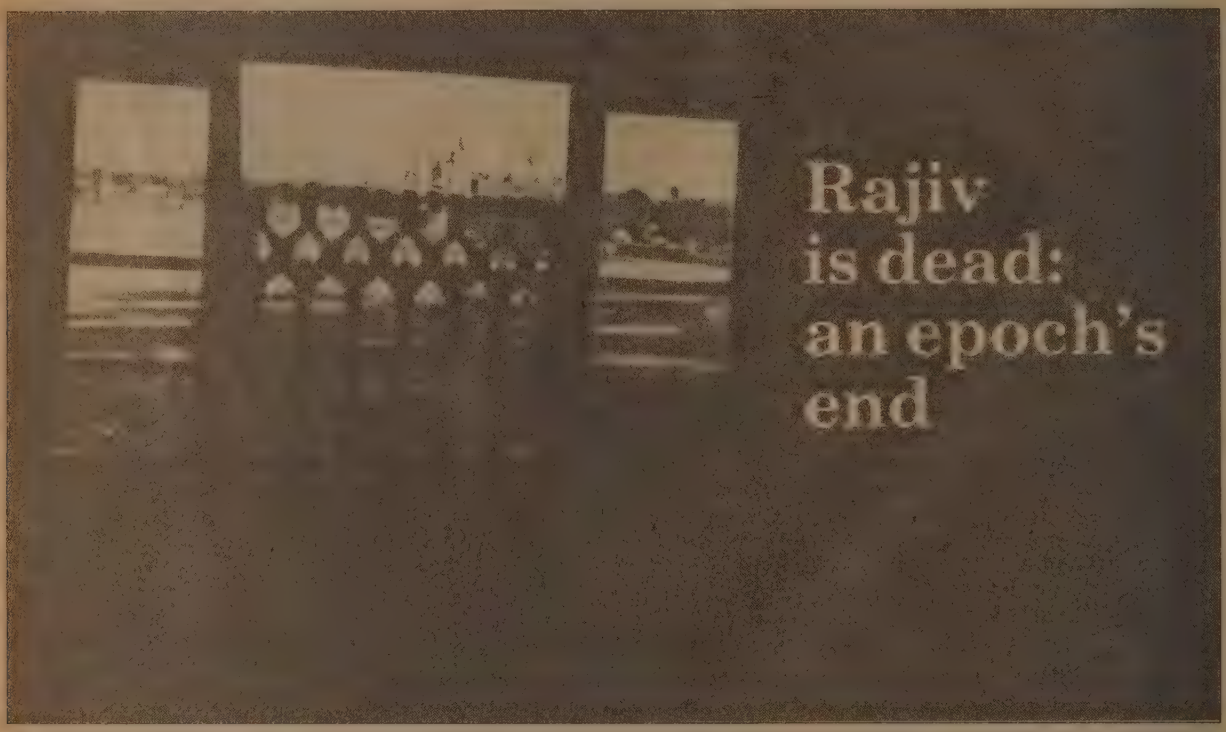
After the congress adopted the above decisions, it would be logical if it dissolved itself, in order to overcome the irrational two-layer structure (congress-Supreme Soviet) designed by the party nomenklatura. There are reasons to believe that the congress will take this step.

Not all provisions of the law on presidency were adopted, however. The Communists of Russia faction also aborted the article binding the president to suspend his or her membership in any political party; (this may be a Pyrhic victory of the conservatives, because it reflects the intention of candidates, members of the CPSU, to express the opinion of the party, not the voters.) The impression was that the energetic attacks against presidency were in fact token gestures by the communist faction which had already realized that the battle had been lost. This might have given Sergei Baburin, the leader of the Russia faction, who is always prepared to attack Yeltsin and the democratic faction, grounds to state: "Under the fire of total criticism Communists of Russia has had to reject any independent political line." Baburin also said that the role of Communists of Russia would be transferred to the Russia faction, the Russian parliament branch of the conservative faction Soyuz which is in opposition to Yeltsin and Gorbachev in the national parliament.

One should not think that the law on presidency is custom-made for Yeltsin; suffice it to say that the age limit of 65 years automatically bars Yeltsin from running for a second term. Yeltsin himself once remarked that his function was to blaze the trail for a new generation of politicians. This new generation is already forming: like the previous congresses, the fourth congress disclosed a constellation of democratically-mided politicians from the midst of the population. Yeltsin's deputy, Ruslan Khasbulatov, must be given his due for the brilliant resume concerning a set of very complicated problems of the Union and Federal treaties. The democratic delegate Sergei Shakhrai was twice voted down as deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet by hard-liners at two previous congresses. The results of the fourth congress can by right be viewed as Shakhrai's personal success: he was the speaker on both central issues, presidency and the law on constitutional court. His speeches were laconic, precise and well-worded. His up-to-the-point suggestions on numerous amendments were almost invariably adopted by the congress. Deputies Kovalev, Lukin, Yushenkov, Rumyantsev, Shabad and others made clever and politically courageous speeches.

Accusations of populism levelled at Boris Yeltsin do not seem appropriate now. First, it is absurd to accuse a political leader of seeking popular support, and, in the circumstances, Yeltsin seems to be the only political leader with a future. Second, at the fourth congress Yeltsin, the head of Russia's supreme legislative body, demonstrated an ultimate act of chairmanship: he was principled and never made any unjustified concession to the majority. He talked the congress into discussing the problem of the violent treatment of the Armenian population by the Centre and Azerbaijani forces. But for Yeltsin, his authority and political maneouvres, even a milder decree on this issue would have never been passed.

The fourth congress coincided with the 70th anniversary of Andrei Sakharov. Symbolically, when he addressed the opening of the congress, Boris Yeltsin referred to the memory and heritage of Sakharov and in the evening of the same day he attended the Sakharov Jubilee Concert in the Moscow Conservatoir attended by prominent figures of Russia and Russian emigration. The concert seemed to remove the barrier separating people living in this country and emigrants. Also symbolic was the presence of President Gorbachev. Gorbachev together with Yeltsin – a sign of the hope that is still alive?



Rajiv is dead: an epoch's end

Photo by Vladimir Zhitomirsky

Who killed Rajiv Gandhi?

When I interviewed Rajiv Gandhi, then the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress (I), eight years ago in July 1983, one of the questions I asked was whether 'piloting was more difficult than professional politics (before 1980 Rajiv Gandhi worked as a pilot for Indian Airlines). "Politics is more difficult," Rajiv Gandhi answered, and added after a pause: "And a lot more dangerous."

Who killed India's most popular politician? Experts from the Central Bureau of Investigations of India do not share the version that the assassination was the doing of a lone kamikaze, and refer to the technological complexity of the killing.

So far the most convincing version is that tieing the assassination with the terrorists from the extremist organization Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. In this light, the killing is viewed as an act of revenge on the part of the Tigers for Gandhi's 1987 decision to deploy Indian troops in Sri Lanka (at that time Gandhi was India's Prime Minister). The Tigers have a wealth of experience in political terrorism. Two months ago they killed Sri Lanka's state secretary of defence, Ranjaw Wijeratne. However, representatives of the Tigers deny any involvement in the murder, so do the Sikh militants who had Rajiv Gandhi blacklisted under No.1 for his desecration of the Sikh shrine – the Golden Temple in Amritsar, Punjab. The Sikh militants pledged that Rajiv would pay for Operation Black Thunder carried out in May 1988 when Indian commandos dislodged Sikh extremists from the Golden Temple.

There is also one more version which makes it unsafe for Europeans, in particular journalists, to move about Delhi. Journalists who tried to approach the Rajiv Gandhi residence in Janpath Road on the night of the killing were met by a hostile crown chanting "CIA murdabad!" ("Death to CIA!"). Foreign journalists had to leave the place promptly. This episode shows who is thought to be responsible in this version.

Anyhow, the Rajiv Gandhi murder is the second attempt in seven years to forcefully alter India's political evolution.

India's largest political party, the Indian National Congress (I), is living through a time of hard trials. The INC (I) has no leader whose political authority and popularity could be at least remotely compared with Rajiv's. Like his mother Indira Gandhi, Rajiv used to cement the INC (I), was the living guarantor of the continuity of the political platform in foreign and domestic affairs known to the world as the Nehru-Gandhi course. The question is now not who is

going to fill the vacuum that appeared after Rajiv's violent removal from the political area. The INC (I) will hardly be able to ever repair the loss. What will follow will be nothing more than attempts to limit and mitigate the damage done to the party by Rajiv's death.

... India is in mourning. The Indian people have lost the politician and statesman who wanted to see India a modern, developed great power. In his 46 years he did a lot to make this vision a reality.

Sergei Irodov,
our own correspondent

Delhi

The last flight

"How would you like to be remembered?" Rajiv Gandhi was once asked.

"As a man who did everything he could to make the developing India a developed nation recognized as such all over the world," he answered.

The urn with his ashes has been lowered into the waters of the Sangham...

What is happening in India? What is happening to India? What is happening in the peaceful country proud of its democracy, a country where the supreme value of human life has been honoured since time immemorial?

Rajiv Gandhi fell victim of political terrorism – less than seven years after the assassination of his mother. He was going to inaugurate a monument to Indira Gandhi in a small town near Madras and then to take part in an election gathering...

Who did it? So far it's only guesswork.

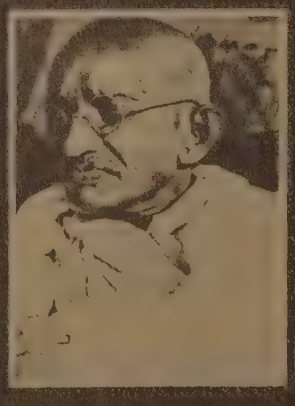
Very probably, the Indian authorities are reluctant to disclose all the evidence they have, remembering the Sikh pogroms that swept the country after the assassination of Indira Gandhi taking a toll of over 30,000. The communal mentality of India does not accept the idea of personal responsibility and the masses are always reaady to punish the whole confession for the crime committed by one person.

In the horrible October night of 1984 when Delhi was burning and enraged mobs roamed the streets seeking Sikhs, Rajiv shuttled about the city in an open jeep trying to stop the carnage.

Victims of political terrorism

Indira Gandhi

Rajiv Gandhi



Mahatma Gandhi

The former pilot's personal courage was well known in the country.

In 1947, when the formation of the Islamic republic of Pakistan touched off a butchery between Hindus and Muslims, Rajiv's mother, Indira Gandhi, rushed from her car barefoot to shield the fleeing Muslims with her own body.

The Nehru-Gandhi family provided an example of sacrificial servide for India for almost one hundred years, starting with Motilal Nehru, one of the founders of the National Congress which led India to political independence, and later, under Jawaharlal Nehru as prime minister, transformed India into an authoritative member of the world community and laid the foundation of India's economic independence. The Nehru-Gandhi family has made India what it is now.

The family is inseparably connected with the Congress, moreover it is connected with the political course from which India did not deviate even during the short spells when the INC(I) was out of power.

The phenomenon of the Nehru-Gandhi family is one of the political realities of today's India and its potential remains the same, considering the fact that immediately after Rajiv's death the leadership of the INC(I) unanimously elected his widow, the Italian Sonya Gandhi, the new leader of the Congress. However, Sonya refused to accept the honour.

Actually, Rajiv himself had become the INC(I) leader by virtue of his belonging to the Nehru-Gandhi clan – and an unprecedented number of voters did not hesitate to trust the young and politically inexperienced man.

It must be noted, though, that it did not take Rajiv much time to become a mature politician and to win international recognition and authority as an independent political figure.

For hundreds of millions of Indians Rajiv Gandhi was the symbol of the INC(I) and the three pillars of modern India: secularism, democracy and a foreign policy of non-alignment. Whatever the unknown killers' motives might have been, the attack on Rajiv was spearheaded against secularism, democracy and integrity of India.

When he came to power, Rajiv Gandhi declared that he saw his mission in preparing India for entering the 21st century, but later the priorities changed and the most important task became to preserve the unity and integrity of India, a country torn apart by ethnic and religious strife and the caste conflicts which are playing an increasingly serious role. Unity, stability and modernization have become the key principles of Rajiv's political philosophy.

It is often said that the ethnic, linguistic

and religious variety of India is the Achilles' heel of the nation. One could say of course that variety is mother of pluralism and that this fact has helped to preserve India's unity for millenia, which, however, does not diminish the significance of secularism today.

India is rapidly developing, but this development is often uneven and generates tremendous social stratification, to say nothing of the psychological consequences of the shock of meeting the future. The situation is explosive by itself, the more so as any social shift in India acquires a religious or ethnic colouring and a corresponding emotional charge. The trouble of India is that many political forces exploit this factor for their own purposes. The religious factor has become a trump card which is played more and more often. At the first glance the result can seem positive: the political parties acting on a religious basis have seriously strengthened and extended their influence – suffice it to mention the Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party and its role in the current election campaign. However, the stirring up of dark instincts and reduction of people to the state of a raging mob can not go without consequences for the nation and its political leaders. Will this be understood now, after one more political assassination?

It has been repeatedly stressed recently that the INC(I) has ruled the country for too long, that the "culture of the Congress" has been exhausted. There is no doubt that the INC(I)'s long tenure as ruling political party could not have failed to result in the emergence of unscrupulous politicians, nepotism and corruption. Rajiv Gandhi was accused of corruption himself, but no incriminating evidence has ever been presented against him. Although there are many grounds for criticizing the Congress, there is little doubt that Rajiv would have won the majority of votes at the upcoming election.

The explosion in Madras shattered the balance of forces and frustrated all political forecasts. It came as a shock for all India.

What will happen now? Whoever may be nominated for INC(I) leadership, there is no political figure comparable to Rajiv Gandhi.

What consequences the Rajiv Gandhi killing will have for India? Will it consolidate the nation, strengthen the popular yearning for stability and more democracy? Will the instinct of self-preservation work in those who are fanning the flames of religious strife in the hope to cash in on that strife? An Indian proverb says that he who has mounted a tiger, cannot jump off.

The Nehru-Gandhi epoch, which India had entered as a backward colony and travelled to become a great power, is over.

Mariam Salganik

Democracy is not developed in a test-tube

Is totalitarianism the only cure of political terrorism?

India's modern history has seen many an example of political assassinations and terrorist attacks.

Indira Gandhi used to speak about the inevitability of her forceful removal from the political arena.

Rajiv Gandhi warned that the country was in for a bloody election campaign. Thus he responded to the prediction of a well-known Indian astrologist that one of the main characters of the current election campaign would meet a violent death. The premonition of Indira and the warning of Rajiv were both true.

What is it? Fatal predestination, like in the case with the Kennedy clan? Is the world's largest democracy also the most fragile one?

When Indira Gandhi served as prime minister of India, and was repeatedly threatened with assassination it was often asked what would happen in case she perished. This question was in particular asked in the Soviet Union where the problem of continiuty of power had traditionally been a sensitive issue. The Indian side's answer to the friends from Moscow was that Indira Gandhi had become prime minister at a legitimate election, not as the heiress to her father's throne and that should anything happen, India's new leader would be elected by the whole nation, not a top-level clique.

This has been the case with Rajiv Gandhi too. Continuity of power, which is only starting to form in the Soviet Union, has always worked at crucial turning points of independent India's history.

Naturally, democratically-minded people, especially those in the Soviet Union, cannot but feel disappointed at the fact that the world's "most populated democracy," as India is known in the international political vocabulary, has not preserved its purity. Very probably the hard-liners will find additional arguments for their cause pointing at the waves of assassinations and terrorist attacks accompanying India's political life and election campaigns.

However, has any of the world's democracies been preserved in absolute purity? Abraham Lincoln and John Kennedy, Martin Luther King and Olof Palme. Rajiv Gandhi now. It seems that all democracies – "the most populated" and "the most developed" ones – are still in the initial stages of evolution. It seems that so far no democracy has matured in the purity of a test-tube free of all aggressive radicals.

The impression is that totalitarianism has every advantage over democracy. Does totalitarianism free people of the threat of terrorism? Indeed, it can help remove vulgar expressions of terrorism. However, any totalitarian society practices a different kind of terrorism – state terrorism, a war against the people with such logical consequences as concentration camps and prisoners of conscience.

In the case with Rajiv Gandhi and in many similar cases the democratic process acts as a wall separating the advocates of violence from the objective they wish to achieve. This wall, that unfortunately still can be dented here and there, has been erected by the architects of independent India. One can say that Rajiv Gandhi went farther than his predecessors in promoting the democratic process in his country. He stepped up Delhi's efforts in the international arena focussing them on shared human values. He advocated the priority of shared human values over group interests in his own country. Thus the 46-year-old prime minister became a politician of a new type displaying a fresh approach to the solution of problems facing the interdependent world. In this light, the explosion near Madras was also an attempt at all advocates of new tendencies in world and domestic politics.

We have always said that the Soviet-Indian cooperation was mutually beneficial. Before 1985, however, we were reluctant to acknowledge that we had failed to benefit from India's main experience – the experience of democracy. Now as democracy is born through labours in this country, it is time to remember that India and the USSR have much in common, especially today. Interethnic clashes, separatism, chauvinism and activities of conservative forces – everything that used to be viewed as exotic tendencies characteristic of India has become a nightmarish reality in this country as well. This country must learn from the experience our trans-Hymalayan neighbour has gained in preserving democracy.

Leonid Zhegalov

A farewell to the Menelik throne

Mengistu flees as rebels close in

Mengistu Haile Mariam had nearly as many honorary titles as Ethiopia's last emperor, Haile Selassie. On May 21, 1991, the day of Mengistu's 50th birthday (some sources insist, however, that Mengistu is four years older than he says he is), one more title was added to the long list of supreme party and state positions he held in Ethiopia. Having added the adjective "former" to all his titles, Lt.Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam has escaped from his country, putting an ignominious end to his career as one of the world's most loyal Marxist leaders of the Third World.

Before his abdication, however, Mengistu denounced Marxism he had taken pains to study under the tutorship of Anatoly Ratanov, the Soviet Ambassador in Addis Ababa at the time of the revolution in Ethiopia. In march last year Mengistu appeared at another "historic" plenum of the Central Committee of Ethiopia's ruling party to declare that very probably neither his subjects nor he himself were real Marxists. Later it was discovered that the numerical strength of Ethiopian proletariat was negligible, and Mengistu decided to change the name of the party, omitting the word "workers": the ruling party of the Democratic Unity Party of Ethiopia. It was then that the gigantic banner with portraits of Marx, Engels and Lenin was removed from Addis Ababa's Revolution Square. The portraits of Mengistu himself remained, however, decorating houses, shops, stadiums, etc.

The late emperor Haile Selassie I had had the throne of the "collector of Ethiopian lands," emperor Menelik II, who was an extremely tall man, rebuilt to fit his own frail physique. He sat on the Menelik throne for over forty years. Mengistu who is not much taller than the emperor he deposed has been finally ousted from the Menelik Throne, which has been rocking under him for many years already. Born into a poor family in the province of Wollamo, which traditionally supplied slaves to the royal court, Mengistu has willingly accepted all royal honours and praise and felt quite at home in the Imperial Palace of Gebbi. However, the Menelik Throne has played a dirty trick on its new occupant. A poet once said that famine was the supreme and merciless king. In Ethiopia where the cruelty of nature is only matched by the cruelty of men, King Famine has stepped in for the second time in two decades to oust the ruler of the country.

The horrible drought, coupled with the thirty-year civil war has laid waste to the once beautiful and plentiful country. Ethiopia steadily ranks among the world's poorest nations, its infant mortality rate is as high as 50 percent and two thirds of its population live at a several days' distance from the nearest surfaced road. All the socialist slogans and reforms have not helped much. At the same time Ethiopia is maintaining Africa's largest army, spending 60 percent of its annual national budget for military purposes. Ethiopia is the venue of the heaviest fighting Africa has ever seen since the end of WW2: the belligerents in Ethiopia's civil war are organized into real combat divisions and operate armour. Most state-of-the-art weapon systems have been supplied by the Soviet Union, and Moscow's "largest African ally" now owes billions of dollars in war debts to this country. The situation is similar to what we have already seen in other regions of the world: the rebels capture materiel and ammunition from the government troops and as a result both sides fight with Soviet made weapons. So much combat material has been crippled in Ethiopia already that peasants often hammer empty shell cartriges with the mark "Made in the USSR" into ploughshares... Until very recently the Ethiopian army was trained to handle Soviet-made armaments by military instructors and advisors from Moscow.

During the years under Mengistu Ethiopia lived in the dark of political repressions. The Amhara word fiteshi meaning search defines Mengistu's massive reprisals compared with which the security measures of Haile Selassie, who ruled Ethiopia as an absolute monarch supported by the local Orthodoxy and people, seem exceedingly liberal.

I remember the horror gripping the Ethiopian capital on a November day of 1974, when street loudspeakers announced the names of executed monarchists, the Ethiopian Empire's sixty most prominent names. In the spring of 1977 Mengistu declared Red Terror, and thousands of people were killed in Addis Ababa alone. The dead bodies, many of which bore the marks of torture, were displayed in the streets. Last year, 12 generals were executed on the verdict of the Military Tribunal for their participation in an anti-Mengistu conspiracy. Many of the generals had taken an active part in the revolution. The list of the regime's victims is endless. Indeed, the revolution devoured its own children.

Drawing from the magazine Jeune Afrique

The consequences of changes in the Soviet Union are manifesting themselves in the remotest corners of the world, and not only in the East European countries. When the cold war finally ended and the Soviet Union stopped playing the game of anti-American dominoes in the Horn of Africa and other regions, many presidencies started to crumble.

The former president of Ethiopia has fled to Zimbabwe. Meanwhile his country continues to bleed, gripped in the violence of a civil war. Bullets and famine kill hundreds every day.

Mengistu has shared the sorry fate of those Soviet clients who had tried to capitalize on the superpower confrontation. The products of the cold war, they have not been able to fit into the new geopolitical setup and have been deposed. A year ago Mengistu publicly compared himself to the legendary 19th-century emperor Theodor who committed suicide after he saw that his reforms were frustrated by enemies inside and outside the country. The political suicide of Mengistu has already taken place. The bearer of Cuba's highest award, the Order of Playa Giron, Mengistu has failed to become the Fidel Castro of Africa.

Alexei Bukalov

A messenger from Rome

Giuseppe Guccione,
italian journalist

Although officially our country has a multiparty system and the USSR until recently had only one party, the protocol records of the top-level Italian-Soviet contacts over the last three decades seem to indicate the opposite: from time to time Soviet interlocutors change whereas the Italian side is almost invariably represented by Giulio Andreotti, our political longliver who is the most experienced and respected state figure in Italy.

On the eve of the Andreotti's recent short visit to the USSR Italian officials emphasized that it should not be regarded just as another summit meeting, but, essentially, as a model of allied relations between our countries.

The poker face of Italian premier usually does not make it possible for one to get an idea about his real attitude to what is going on. To give the readers a chance to feel the atmosphere of negotiations I venture to quote from the official communiqué a phrase that looks to me unprecedented: "During their discussions Mikhail Gorbachev and Giulio Andreotti caught the meaning of what they said to each other at once talking in the usual for them style of benevolent openness and absolute trust. Over the years of their personal contacts it became the rule for them to ask clear questions and to give definite answers."

It is not difficult for one to gather what were the questions to which Giulio Andreotti sought the answers in Moscow. How much Gorbachev is in control of the situation in the country? Is there a danger for the money provided on Italian credit to go down the drain? What guarantees for the Western investors can be given by the Soviet side?

Evidently, Mikhail Gorbachev was able to give his Italian interlocutors some weighty proofs of his intention to cooperate with the "inconvenient" Yeltsin and the leaders of other republics that remain in the Union.

The question of credits has cut across the entire scenario of the blitz visit of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Italy. True, Italy is ready to provide a whole series of large-scale loans to shore up Gorbachev's new tack. But it wants to act with circumspection in keeping with the Italian saying the Russian equivalent of which would roughly read as follows: "We can be friends, yet each of us should count his money."

The grandiose plans of cooperation in the creation of giant factories won't be enough to prevent Italian money from going down the drain. On the contrary, I am convinced that the funds provided on the credits should be channeled by Italian business directly to Soviet joint-stock and privately-owned small enterprises bypassing the unwieldy system of State patterns. This is precisely the view that was expressed to me by the leaders of the Union of the United Cooperatives of the USSR. One has to acknowledge that only such system of crediting and cooperation can bring about fast the concrete results for your consumers.

The Soviet leader promissed Giulio Andreotti to adopt a whole package (Gorbachev's favourite word) of measures aimed at the liberalization of foreign economic ties. Well, we shall see what will happen. Andreotti conducted negotiations with Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov and took part in the ceremony of unveiling of Arnoldo Pomodoro's sculpture *The sun's disk* on Komsomolsky Prospect (by the way, because of that ceremony we had to wait for half an hour at the intersection making way for the government motorcade. Just like in Italy!)

Giulio Andreotti in the role of Mikhail Gorbachev's solicitor before the "Seven"

As it became clear from the joint press conference of Mikahil Gorbachev and Giulio Andreotti, the main issue on the agenda of their negotiations was the discussion of the possibility of Soviet president's participation in the meeting of the leaders of the seven Western countries to be held in London this July. Gorbachev did not try to conceal that he would like to be present at that meeting. Andreotti said that Italy views that desire "very favourably." Although the cautious guest in the same breath reminded his interlocutor that the meeting would be hosted not by him, but by British prime minister. However, Soviet president made it clear that he was already preparing for the meeting in London, and even if he were not present there, he would all the same find an occasion to say what he wanted to say.

As one can see from the statement made in Tokyo by Italian Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis, Italian Government has already begun "to work on their partners at the London meeting in order to influence them in favour of inviting Gorbachev.

And finally, on one more result of Andreotti's visit. The two sides have signed an intergovernmental agreement on the creation of a direct telephone line between the Kremlin and Palazzo Chigi. Having learned about it I gave a sigh of relief: as a frequent visitor to Moscow I know very well how difficult it is to make a telephone call to Italy. I hope that now your president will not have that problem.

MOSCOW–ROME–MONTEPULCIANO

The joint address issued by Soviet economists Grigory Yavlinsky and Yevgeny Primakov to the Big Seven has become a sensation of a global scale. The events developed in a thriller-like sequence with shuttle diplomacy between Moscow and Washington, and the Kremlin and private flats. Some Western experts have dubbed the Yavlinsky-Primakov address The Great Deal and American Sovietologists are ranking the event's significance together with the Nine Plus One agreement recently reached between Gorbachev and nine republican leaders.

Assisting the reforms

Procrastinating aid to the Soviet Union may hurt Western interests

Wulf Lapins

From the point of view of the West, President Gorbachev deserves high acclaim for his pragmatic and rational foreign policy. First and foremost, this acclaim comes from the Germans for whom Gorbachev opened the way to unity. The slogan Help Gorbachev was coined in the Federal Republic. Now German politicians are trying to get their own partners in developed Western powers to follow this course.

However, the feeling of gratitude is alien to states. States have their own interests to watch. In principle, the question is not whether or not to support this or that politician. The West wants to see irreversible political structures and consistent and predictable policies.

At present, however, the policy of the Soviet Union is going through severe trials. The Soviet military establishment has interpreted the CFE treaty in a rather peculiar way and violated it. Attempts have been going on for several months to bring political, psychological, economic and military pressure to bear on the democratically elected parliaments of the three Baltic republics. The West is asking a reasonable question: Is President Gorbachev informed of this? Or perhaps, he even approves of this policy which very much reminds one of the policies of the Cold War time? Or is he forced to make compromises with the hardliners so that to avoid the very worst?

The West has always been calling on the USSR to start a gradual implemenation of structural and political changes. The West feared the unpredictable consequences of a spontaneous destruction of the totalitarian sheath. Those fears were justified. Nationalist, chauvinist and orthodox forces have broken free from the fetters of the old system. Besides, even after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the successful fulfillment of arms limitations accords, the Soviet Union remains Europe's largest military power.

The West hopes that the future Soviet Union will be a peaceful, democratic state committed to the rule of law and having a free market economy. The Soviet Union recognized these basic principles when it signed the Charter for a New Europe in November 1990.

Today it is not in the West's interests to hesitate with a large scale assistance to the USSR which Moscow needs to be able to help the country. Prompt measures must be taken to structurally and spiritually transform the rigidly centralized economy into a free market economy. It would be a fatal mistake to withhold direct and indirect assistance to the USSR until the Soviet Union has switched over to a free market economy. The example of East Germany demonstrates what colossal changes are necessary. The former GDR has a rich sponsor – the Federal Republic. The Soviet Union has no rich relatives that could come to its rescue. Besides, the situation in the USSR is much more complicated than the situation in East Germany, considering the differences in area, population, infrastructure and other parametres.

A free market economy suggests the transformation of the socio-economic and political system. Cardinal reform of state power and public education is another framework condition of a turn towards a free market. As a nation starts transforming along free market lines, the omnipotent bureaucratic apparatus becomes unnecessary. Other priority measures include demonopolization, and an effective system of anti-monopoly control.

The main thing, however, is the parallel evolution of the horizontal and vertical economic federalism, and democratic social structures.

All this is well-known both to radical reformers and orthodox hardliners. Mikhail Gorbachev remains somewhere in between, indecisive as to which camp to join.

Radical reformers would like a forced introduction of free market relations. Their slogan is that one can't jump a gap in two leaps. Hardliners want a minimal market, or, better still, some slight renovation of the Soviet Union's old economic ways.

For the population, the free market must become a socially free market economy, not the wild Manchester capitalism. Total privatization of state-run property does not seem reasonable to us. Such privatization would be counterproductive because the emerging capitalism would only be interested in the juiciest bits of the economy, which are not many in the Soviet Union. To be able to compete on a free market, state-run enterprises with excessive manpower will have to drastically reduce the number of employees. It is necessary to thoroughly check which enterprises can be converted to joint stock companies. It must be remembered that the philosophy of private property has been discredited in the eyes of many Soviet people as a result of the decades of political indoctrination and condemnation. Unlike in the new democracies of Eastern Europe, entrepreneurship has no roots in Soviet history. However, this restraint is out of place as far as privatization of land is concerned. On the contrary, pri-

Dr Wulf Lapins, research fellow at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Germany

The author wishes to donate the payment for this article to the Chernobyl Relief Fund

vate ownership of land is necessary if the country is to be fed.

The West is weighing pros and cons of a new Marshall Plan for the USSR. The first question to answer is whether the money is intended for the central bureaucracy or Union republics which have been taking steps towards the free market economy. The import of capital must first and foremost be used in the form of infrastructure and industrial investments. If credits are used to buy consumer goods, prices will soar and negative social consequences will be unavoidable. In principle, a Marshall Plan for the USSR meets the interests of the West, if Western billions push the Soviet Union closer to democracy, respect for law, and the free market, as is stipulated by the Paris Charter for a New Europe.

BONN

The West will help

But we are not yet prepared for it

Calls have been made for a long time already to render financial and economic assistance to the USSR in exchange for radical reforms.

Billions-of-dollar mirage

In the circumstances, an appeal to the West for help is a natural and necessary measure. There is nothing wrong about it. After all, no economic miracle of the postwar time, be it the economic miracle of Japan or Germany or South Korea or Taiwan or even Reaganomics in the United States, has been based exclusively on a nation's domestic resources. In each case a serious (sometimes decisive) role belonged to external sources of finance, technologies and innovative management practices. On the contrary, the attempts to rely solely on a nation's own strength in isolation from the rest of the world so as to provide for "a great leap" to the future have never been successful. This universal tendency can hardly be overrun by our domestic patriots who are bitter over the Fatherland's being sold down the river to the predatory international capital.

However, the possibilities of getting billions in financial injections from the West are very limited today. All the talk about twenty, fifty or even one hundred billion dollars which the Big Seven are allegedly prepared to give Moscow is not based on any serious grounds.

Today's world has three main potential sources of financing the Soviet economy: Japan, Germany and the United States. Japan has never acted as "a rich uncle" on international finance markets, preferring to link credits with privileged conditions for Japanese exports. Gorbachev's recent visit to Tokyo showed that no boom in Soviet-Japanese relations can be possible as long as bilateral political problems remain unresolved. Moreover, several days ago Japanese banks decided to refuse any credits to the Soviet Union on the grounds of this country's doubtful solvency.

Germany has already invested in the Soviet economy more than any country has ever done. However, Germany is now facing the challenge of modernizing the economy of its eastern parts and such a modernization will require billions of Deutsche marks. The post-socialist countries of Eastern Europe are also queueing up to get German aid. Besides, after the Soviet Union had transferred a number of large-scale Bonn-financed construction projects fo Finnish and Turkish firms Germany may be less prepared to offer new credits to Moscow.

Finally, the hopes for a US assistance are also groundless in the light of the difficult economic situation in the United States itself and instability of the US financial system. Washington still has to pay the Gulf war bill. Besides, the problems with the Paris CFE Treaty and the unfinalized START Treaty are not very conducive to American generosity.

The demand for free capital is great in the world, and there are impressive opportunities of profitable investments in America, Europe and Asia. The Soviet Union has yet to prove that it can successfully compete for potential investors.

Seven don't wait for one

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

... helping ourselves

At the same time, the limited external resources that can be mobilized in near future are only a part of the problem. Another crucial factor is the ability of the recipient nation to digest the aid and utilize it

for the solution of key problems of development. The historical experience shows that on many occasions tremendous financial injections from abroad, large-scale imports of advanced technologies did not only fail to bring the desired prosperity, but aggravated social tensions and economic problems causing unpredictable political consequences. Let us recall the White Revolution of Iran's Shah Reza Pahlavi which ended in the restoration of a medieval theocratic regime. A less dramatic example is the large-scale Western credits given to Poland and Hungary in the 1970s which have become today a heavy burden on the reform-minded governments and the peoples of those countries.

How will the Soviet Union's integration in the world economy and foreign credits affect this country and what consequences will they have? Will they be a vehicle to bring this country out of the crisis and into the mainstream of civilization, as has been the case with South Korea? Or will they touch off a social catastrophe and bring back the remote past, like in Iran?

One would like to hope for the better... It is possible, though, only in the case of an unequivocally positive answer to a number of more concrete questions.

Will the Union government be able to finally work out a comprehensive programme of radical economic reforms specifying the stages, ways and terms of such reforms? Will this programme be closely connected with the programmes of Western credits, investments and aid, especially in the aspects of tied crediting, the terms and procedure of financing?

Will the government be able to pursue a tough programme of financial stabilization, a programme that would include a drastic reduction of the state budget deficit, more rigid terms of crediting and discipline of payments, tying up or in any other way neutralizing the excessive monetary amounts, cuts in subsidies, internal convertibility of the ruble, internal financial market and imposing limits on the growth of wages and salaries in the state-run segment of the national economy?

Will the Western partners press the Soviet government into presenting more complete and detailed information about the state of affairs in the Soviet economy, laws, acts and administrative procedures of economic regulation ("the regime of openness"), foreign trade, credits and payments, national hard currency reserves?

Will the government be able to achieve a broad and stable social and political consensus in the country over the economic reform proper and the ways of Soviet integration in the international division of labour, a consensus that could guarantee internal stability, continuity of reform and preservation of a favourable investments climate?

Will the Soviet leadership remove the relics of the cold war from its foreign policies, curtailing aid to Third World dictatorships, cutting arms supplies abroad and embarking on the path of consistent conversion of the national defence industry?

If Moscow does not have specific answers to these questions, its appeal to the Big Seven makes no sence whatsoever. In this case, any financial and technological injections from the West will only be half-measures, a pain killer which suppresses the pain, but does not cure the illness. We have repeatedly resorted to such half-measures throughout our history, but the illness was back every time – in a more severe and acute form.

Grabbing at a dollar cake

The current Union government is hardly able to solve all these problems. Even if we suppose that the Pavlov cabinet will radicalize in the coming months, the time of this cabinet is already counted. The government lost popular trust in the very first weeks of its existence and now the public is not going to support any reforms, even the most progressive ones, initiated by the Pavlov cabinet. The cabinet which publicly accused Western banks of plotting an international conspiracy to undermine the financial system of the USSR can hardly count on the international support of its programmes.

Moreover, the cabinet has virtually lost all control over the national economy. It is physically unable to control the distribution of funds and execution of aid programmes. The government bodies and agencies are unable to provide for long-term coordination of such programmes.

From this point of view, the idea of setting up an interrepublican organizing committee to distribute financial aid seems attractive. One would only wish that such an organizing committee would not become a battleground with the republic grabbing at a fatter slice of the dollar cake. The question about the division of investments is, unfortunately, handled in this country in the defective old manner. Each republic, region, city or even city district wants to grab as much hard currency as possible and to spend the money under no control.

Producers must get the priority

Meanwhile, the only recipient of investments (with some rare exceptions) must be the producer. The bodies of state power must not engage in economic activities at all – their responsibility is to provide optimal conditions for domestic and foreign investments in the territory they control. The state must live on the just share of taxes paid to it by the producers. The bodies of power at the republican, regional and city levels must compete with each other for getting domestic and foreign enterprise in their territories, without trying to place entrepreneurs in something resembling serfdom subordination.

If a body of state power at any level attempts to directly control the investments, the results will be, first, monopolism of that body and, second, corruption (to say nothing of the decline in the level of competence, more red tape and less flexibility). To remove both phenomena it is necessary to separate economic activities from state activities the way economic activities are separated from party activities. In this case the question of investing in Soviet economy will be handled where it must be handled – not at meetings of political leaders, but at bank and corporate board sittings.

Andrei Kortunov,
Cand. Sc. (History)

Solidarnosc changes its face

After two-year silence Solidarnosc emerged on the political scene. A national protest action was held on its initiative

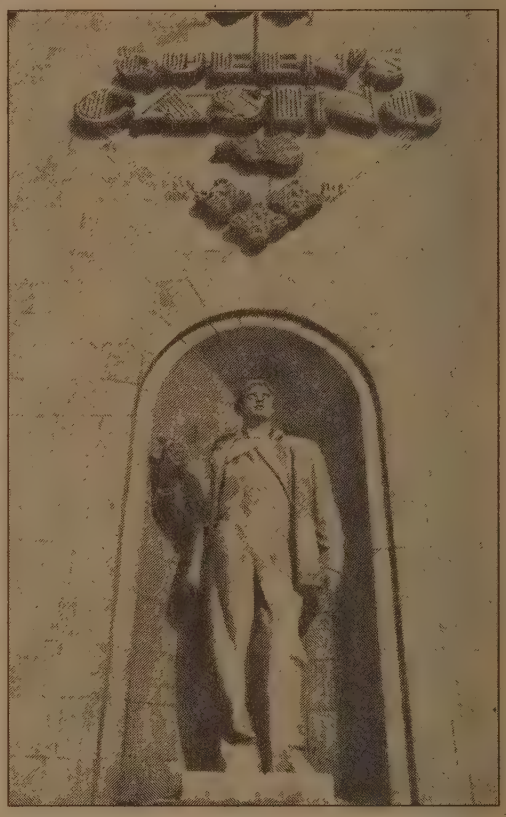
The social movement without precedent in Polish history has entered the second decade of its existence with clear signs of confusion. Born for struggle, Solidarnosc won a decisive victory over the regime which governed for 45 years. But then it moved into the background. Did it accomplish its mission? At all times, in the late summer of 1980, when it appeared and took shape organizationally, when it was driven underground by martial law, during the round-table negotiations and in the election campaign of 1989, Solidarnosc remained a *trade union*. And trade unions have always had one mission everywhere – to protect the interests of the working people. What has happened?

I think the reason lies in the original dual nature of Solidarnosc. It is a *trade union* and a revolutionary *political* movement which united ten million working people (80 percent of the total) under white-red banners. The election victory, the formation of a Solidarnosc government and, as they say here, "an umbrella opened by Solidarnosc over the new authorities" seem to have deprived the movement of the moral right to protest. For how can Solidarnosc criticize its alter ego? Figuratively speaking, the Solidarnosc fighters have returned home from trenches and mothballed their arms.

The times have changed now. Solidarnosc has retained about a fourth of its ten-million membership. Its popularity has declined too, with 37 percent approving and 38 percent disapproving of the movement's activity in a recent poll. A year ago the proportion was 66 to 19 percent. On the Gdansk coast, where Solidarnosc came into being, the rating was even lower: 33 percent approved and 45 percent disapproved of its activity. Solidarnosc has ceased to be a national movement. But does it continue to be a trade union?

The presidential election last December revealed the following division in mass consciousness: Mazowiecki polled the votes of Poles who advocate gradual reforms and Tyminski, of those who are deeply discontented with "shock therapy" and believed the promises of quick enrichment. But a greater part of voters believed the promises of an accelerated development and equal opportunities. The victory went to Lech Walesa, the legendary leader of the old Solidarnosc. Some delegates to the latest March congress of the trade union joked in the lobbies: "Another whim of Polish history – a worker has been elected President of the country and a scientist chairman of the workers' unions." Marian Krzaklewski, a mathematician, became chairman of Solidarnosc instead of Walesa.

So it appears that by taking such a drastic step as the call for a nationwide action of protest Solidarnosc wants to remind all people that it still exists. Or does it want to show that it has not lost touch with the people?



New content within old buildings. A casino has opened in a Warsaw's community centre

Photo from the magazine Spotkania (Poland)

On the eve of the protest action

– A day before the protest action I met with Maciej Jankowski, the present chairman of the trade union in the Mazwsze region, which includes Warsaw and districts in the central part of Poland. Our conversation took place in the headquarters of the Solidarnosc-Mazwsze. Jankowski, 45, a welder by profession, has been in Solidarnosc since its emergence. In 1981 he was elected to the Polish conciliation comission, the highest body of the movement. In the past, the regional Solidarnosc-Mazwsze was led by Zbigniew Bujak and Michal Boni, now a minister in the Belecki government.

I told Jankowski about my recent meeting with Lech Walesa.

The President said he was compelled to agree to a division, having in mind Solidarnosc too. How are relations shaping between Solidarnosc, the President and the government?

Maciej Jankowski. It can be said that our relations are frozen at present. Solidarnosc has urged the people to hold an action of protest tomorrow. However, there is still no reaction from the higher-ups.

New Times. What is the purpose of the protest action?

M.J. We want, after all, to receive from the country's leadership a clear answer to the question of vital concern to the working people: in what direction does it intend to carry out further reforms – along the path of Western democracies, which take the workers' interests into account and offer joint ownership together with the employer, as in Germany or Japan, or along the path of Latin American oligarchies, where the national property belongs to a narrow group of privileged people? What is more, it does not matter whether these people have amassed their "primary capital" honestly or not. It turns out that those who acquired capital by dishonest means today have more chances of start-

ing their business. The trade union sees this tendency towards uncontrolled privatization and cannot but interfere.

Or take the concrete example of the progressive tax set by the state for exceeding the wage fund. It has affected state-owned enterprises in the first place, because the private sector has practically no ceiling for wages. Second, the tax kills the incentive to work better, more efficiently. The wage should depend on *how* people work, but not *where* they work.

N.T. The progressive tax has been introduced according to the Balcerowicz plan with the sole purpose of curbing hyper-inflation and ending the pressure of money on the consumer market. This policy works well so far.

M.J. We do not demand that wages should be raised at any cost. They should be increased only for the sold goods. Besides, the progressive tax makes up only a third of the volume of money which exerts pressure on the market. It means that inflation is also caused by other factors which are ignored by the Balcerowicz policy. Here is a proof: wage restrictions are effective, but prices continue to rise. It would be all right if such a situation lasted for several months, for half a year or a year. However, people cannot tighten their belts endlessly. And then, why is it advantageous to work in a private firm, though bad, than in a state-run company, though good?

I want to state my point clearly. The initial rough stage of reforms is now entering the legislative channel, so to speak. What seemed inevitable at first cannot be accepted as a principle and given the force of law. The burden of reforms should not be shifted on one social group – the working people. I am watching the developments in the Soviet Union and see that the same is being done there, only on a wider scale.

The underground business should be legalized. But it must pay the same taxes, according to the same rates as state-owned enterprises. In short, the tax policy should be *uniform* for all. I do not doubt that certain people are directly interested in the artificial bankruptcy of state-owned enterprises because eventually they would be able to buy them for a song. Herein lie the shortcomings of total privatization which we the workers' union want to counter.

N.T. What group of people do you have in mind?

M.J. Solidarnosc has deposed the communist regime, but it has not broken up the corrupt structure, the system of personal ties which helps some people successfully adapt themselves to the new situation: get a credit without difficulty, obtain an advantageous order or secure the necessary information. We understand that it is an inevitable evil. But we must see that the authorities at least try to check the unfavourable tendencies.

I guess that the government intends to take some measures to control the process of privatization and economic restructuring in general. However, we do not yet know these intentions. Our action of protest is a way of reminding that we are a partner with whom the government must not only reckon, but also constantly hold an open dialogue. The government policy must be *clear* to the people.

N.T. Today Solidarnosc is different from what it was in the 1980s. What kind of organization is it now?

M.J. Only a fourth of the former membership has remained in Solidarnosc. Different political forces have left it, because they can now realize their social interests freely and independently. It can be said that Solidarnosc is gradually returning to its original design, namely, to be not a political movement but a trade union which helps first of all socially unprotected strata in the difficult conditions of transition of the economy to free enterprise and formulates their economic interests and legal guarantees. A smaller membership of our organization does not make it less solid.

N.T. What is the idea of the protest action?

M.J. In the past two years Solidarnosc has not held large-scale actions, understanding that they could impede the changes which began in the country. But as before, an ordinary worker is unable to influence the developments in Poland. He is still assigned the role of a cogwheel. It means that Solidarnosc is necessary as a champion of his interests. Our protest action must demonstrate to the government, the President, the parliament and political parties, the present establishment as a whole, that the people have a right to know in what direction the country is developing and are prepared to uphold this right.

N.T. Can it happen that Solidarnosc will overturn the government it has brought to power?

M.J. By no means. We as a trade union are not at all interested in the personal composition of the government and its political platform. That is the business of parties. Our protest action is a normal form of civilized social behaviour. We do not incite people to rise against the authorities.

The government did not waver

May 22 – the day of national protest against the government's economic policy organized by Solidarnosc – went off quietly. White-red flags appeared here and there, whistles hooted and a dozen of enterprises stopped work for a short time. A rally held in the Warsaw Square brought together several thousand people (about 4,000, according to the PAP news agency). After the rally the crowd went to the Council of Ministers and Sejm buildings and the Belweder Palace in order to hand inpetitions. By two o'clock the protest action ended. The empty streets were littered with scraps of leaflets and posters. "The steam changed into a whistle," the newspaper *Trybuna* commented next day. It is not just, of course. Solidarnosc was able to state its demands publicly. What about the supertask?

It is easier to understand what the "new" Solidarnosc does *not* oppose than to catch the essence of its programme. It does not come out against privatization in the economy and pluralism in politics. What, then, is the essence of the conflict?

Achieving its victory as a national movement of political protest, Solidarnosc has become an instrument of economic protest, moreover, an instrument of a definite section of the working class – wage workers in the state sector, those who feel the effects of "shock therapy" most painfully. Solidarnosc demands that state-owned enterprises should be put on a par with private ones. Is such a position constructive in the present situation, when the state sector makes up 80 percent of the country's industrial potential, when it still represents a conglomerate of giant and often unprofitable monopolist enterprises. The government programmes lay emphasis on the building of a *competitive* economy and that is why it opens the way for private initiative. The government can mitigate the painful effects of privatization only to the extent of the wealth accumulated by the nation, and this wealth is disastrously small at present.

It seems that the broad protest action, the first in new Poland, did not shake the government. In any case, Leszek Balcerowicz, the architect of "Polish perestroika," declared in the Sejm next day that the country was faced with the alternative of either following the chosen path or losing everything which has been achieved with such difficulty.

Rudolf Borecki,
our own correspondent

WARSAW

Museum on Mount Myohyang

Looking round the museum of gifts to Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people

When the foreign ministry of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea invited me to visit the small town of Myohyangsan I gladly accepted the proposal. The town, lying in "the mountains of delightful fragrance," is a well-known health resort famous for its pristine nature, the unique beauty of its landscape, and pure air. It can be said right away that this fame is not at all exaggerated.

A palace without windows

It takes three and a half hours to reach Myohyangsan from Pyongyang by train. We arrived when it was already dark. The promised car did not come yet and I suggested that we walk to the hotel. But the two guides who accompanied me refused, saying it was necessary to wait for the car. It did not befit a guest to go on foot. Finally a black Mercedes rolled up. We rode along the deserted streets for abourt three minutes. I appreciated the foresight of my hosts. It was dark in the streets, and the driver switched on the headlights. Next day I decided to see whether there were street lamps in the town. It turned out that lamps were there, but there were no bulbs in them.

I understood soon that electric bulbs are not needed, because holiday makers come to the place in their own cars and the cinema is opened only at their request. There are no restaurants in the town and shops are closed in the evening. Local residents are not in the habit of inviting guests. So there is no need for them to walk in the dark. So why light the deserted streets? A rational way of saving energy.

It was light and cosy in the hotel, though. My guides warned me that next day we shall have a busy schedule – a trip to the exhibition of friendship among nations.

The exhibition proved immense indeed. It is arranged in an imposing palace on Mount Myohyang. The building is so unique and wonderful that it defies description. Let me therefore quote a passage from the guidebook. "The exhibition has been arranged according to the far-reaching design of our beloved leader, Comrade Kim Jong Il, and under his energetic direction. It is a modern six-storey building, national in form and socialist in content... The total space of the exhibition is 28,000 square metres... On display are gifts presented to our beloved leader, President Kim Il Sung, by party and government leaders, public figures and representatives of various sections of the population from 150 countries... With a view to ensuring the eternal keeping of gifts the exhibition has been built without windows, but from the outside the building looks as if it has windows...

"Among valuable exhibits," the guidebook says further, "one can see works of fine arts in which the dear image of the great leader has been reproduced, jewelry, various precious things, rare medicines, suits, pieces of furniture, verses and songs, banners, letters of congratulation and other articles which praise the outstanding leadership and high morals of the great leader and reflect the hearty wishes of good health and many years of life to the beloved leader... The exhibition of frienship among nations, a monumental structure of the epoch of the Workers' Party of Korea, will be passed on with its valuable articles from one generation to another for ever."

Kimilsunghwa flower

"Look at this door," a girl guide said before we entered the exhibition building. "It was cast under pressure. Each of its four folds weighs four tons. On the door is an embossed pattern of Kimilsunghwas, the flowers loved by Kim Il Sung. The ceilings and walls of the entire building are decorated with these patterns. The history of this flower is instructive. It appeared in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea after our great leader had visited Indonesia in 1965. In the botanical garden in Jakarta Kim Il Sung saw a flower which he liked very much. President Sukarno of Indonesia gave orders for improving the qualities of the flower by selection and after that he presented it to the great leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung. This flower has spread throughout the republic and has become the favourite flower of the Korean people."

"And now put on gloves and try to open the door," the girl guide said.

With caution (fearing I shall not have enough strength) I took the copper ring with my both hands and moved one of the door folds with difficulty. After that the door moved easily. Before our eyes was the introduction hall. My feet, in slippers on top the boots, sank in the fluffy soft carpet.

The picture called "Comrade Kim Il Sung heading the army in the fighting on Mount Pektoo"
From the album "The invincible revolutionary armed forces – the valiant Korean People's Army"

"In the introduction hall," the guidebook says further, "stands a plaster statue of our beloved leader, President Kim Il Sung. There is a map showing the foreign policy activity of our dear leader and the countries which have sent presents to him. A part of the gifts are displayed in the introduction hall."

A total of 57,988 gifts are on display in 60 halls of the museum, the guide told me. There is a special hall for gifts from the Soviet Union. Some of them are also exhibited in other halls. Nevertheless, visitors can see only 400 of the 900 Soviet gifts. The rest are kept in storerooms.

We began to inspect the Soviet gifts first. A cut-glass vase with a red star on it was presented by Mikhail Gorbachev. The vase bears the date: January 1, 1986. Also presented by Gorbachev were a panel with the image of Lenin, a bronze scale model of the Kremlin and a book about the Treatyakov Art Gallery.

Yuri Andropov presented only a fowling double-barrel.

Konstantin Chernenko presented three gifts: a porcelain vase with the image of a storm petrel, a sabre and a watch.

Four gifts bear the name of Leonid Brezhnev: a book entitled *The Land of Lenin*, two volumes of the *Collection of Photographs and Stills about Lenin*, a transistor radio, and a set of metal ware (six wineglasses and a small decanter).

The range of gifts from distinguished persons of the recent period is concluded with a collection of commemorative coins from Alexei Kosygin.

There are not a few amazing gifts with amazing inscriptions. For instance, on display under glass lies a brown felt hat. The inscription on the plate says: "From the Soviet Union." It is dated August 21, 1978. I wondered who presented the hat, why not on his behalf but on behalf of the Soviet Union? And why a hat?

Gifts were sent by private persons, work collectives and even by the command of the Soviet armed forces in the German Democratic Republic. A coffeepot was presented on behalf of the Soviet government, a teapot and a cup on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a transistor radio from a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee (anonymous).

Major gifts, and not only in the Soviet section, were presented a long time ago. First of all, it is a railway car sent by Stalin to Kim Il Sung in 1945. Together with a little smaller car from Mao Zedong, it occupies a separate pavilion beside the main building. Second, in 1950 Stalin presented five armoured ZIS-110 cars with bullet-proof glass. One such car and two ZIM cars (one from Malenkov and the other from Bulganin) occupy a special hall at the exhibition. I estimated that the glass lowered in one of the ZIS doors was some five centimetres thick. The three cars are in an excellent condition.

I did not see gifts from Khrushchev. Were they removed after he had been ousted from the political scene?

Key to happiness

A souvenir key called the "key to happiness" was presented to Kim Il Sung by the residents of Algiers. The museum also has a symbolic "Key to Sofia" and a "Golden Key to Bucharest." Nicolae Ceausescu presented him with a vase of smoky glass and a bearskin, Erich Honecker, with an inlaid sporting gun fitted with a telescopic sight, Todor Zhivkov with a flower vase and a silver shuff-box decorated with gems.

Janos Kadar and Pal Losonczi – with bronze statuettes of a "young worker" and a "woman fighter," Wojciech Jaruzelski –with a cup made from a piece of coal, with a Polish eagle (but without a crown), and Gustav Husak, with a modest angler's outfit in a plain black suitcase.

Fidel Castro presented an attaché case made of crocodile leather and a cigarette case, former Nicaraguan Defence Minister Humberto Ortega, brother of the former president – a light machine gun, and former Interior Minister Tomas Borge, a stuffed crocodile standing on its hind legs and holding a tray with six wineglasses in his forelegs.

Also on display are Chinese and Japanese gifts, a small varnished table with little stools from Sihanouk, a sabre for a guard of honour from Palestinians, and boxes with jewelry from Indira Gandhi and Zia ul-Haq.

A small automatic table fountain was presented to Kim Il Sung by a Helsinki group studying chuchae ideas. Josip Broz Tito presented a picture. A flower vase of rock crystal was sent by François Mitterrand and a silver vase by Muammar al-Qaddafi. The wife of the Mozambican President presented four pairs of horns of exotic African animals – the eland and the kudu.

Leaving the exhibition of friendship among nations, I thought that I was lucky once again, as I was in 1988 in Bucharest, where I visited the Museum of National History fully assigned then to the exhibition of gifts to Ceausescu. Exhibitions of this kind are impressive indeed.

Yuri Starostenko,
our special correspondent
PYONGYANG – MOSCOW

Kiev privately-owned small enterprise

KIEV UKRAINE

DEL

КИЇВ УКРАЇНА

Dilova elektronika (DEL)

15-year experience in aerospace industry

DEL offers designers and manufacturers of computer hardware and software its cooperation in the sale of products, maintenance, repair and service, as well as in the joint development of software for processing the information of complex radio navigation systems and controllers of propulsion systems. The organizing of joint production or a service centre is possible. Highly skilled programmers and experienced designers of microprocessing equipment are on the DEL staff. It has experience in the starting, debugging, maintenance and repair of DEC and IBM PC computers and in the organizing of after-sale maintenance and repair services.

Our address: USSR 254213
Kiev–213 A/Ya No.18
Telephone (044) 213-61-71
Fax (044) 228-62-96

© НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ DESIGN

Doctor Stockman's mistake

A character from Ibsen's play claimed that only those who act alone are strong. But at present Oslo is looking with hope to the EC

When one gets acquainted with a small nation, one expects it to be culturally integral, united around the pivot, which is the national language. As for the "country of fjords," as Norway is stubbornly called by foreigners, its people use two languages in their everyday life, and even manage to surround each of them with a spiritual sphere of its own. For instance, musicals in Oslo are staged in modern nynorsk, while books are written in traditional bokmal.

Of course, this is all the fault of imperialists – this time Danish imperialists. And although Norway got rid of them in 1814 it inherited their written language and, as "New Norwegians" believe, a distorted pronunciation. The Danish yoke was followed by that of the Swedes, and only in 1905 the Norwegians gained the right to be the masters of their own semantics and morphology.

The success in the struggle between the two tongues varies, therefore Norwegians call their country both Norge and Noreg, and cannot accept only one name. The country's linguistic fate is decided in schools. Two years ago 16.8 percent of students voted for nynorsk, and a year later their number grew by 0.2 percent. With this growth rate the entire country will speak nynorsk in another 4 hundred years.

What is noteworthy is that the popularity of nynorsk reached its climax at the end of Nazi occupation, when patriotic sentiments were on the rise. However now that Norway marked fifty years since the German invasion and the 100th birth anniversary of the traitor Quisling, many people think not so much about national originality, but rather about the place of Norway in the rapidly changing world. True, one feels proud for the veterans of the Oskarsborg fortress who sank the latest German cruiser Blücher on April 9, 1940, especially when one sees the eyes of these veterans. And one can still hear words of gratitude addressed to the Red Army soldiers for liberating North Norway, when one is talking to the burgomasters of the country's North. But Oslo is much more concerned with the problems of cooperating with the "united Europe," where Germany again plays first fiddle, and of establishing a steady balance of forces and interests in North Atlantic, where the country borders on the vast Soviet Union.

The saving of the drowning is a common cause

What is meant here is actually a refusal to live in a "remote corner," which presupposes certain isolation, and the decision to move into the all-European home, where "residents" will enjoy not only broad rights, but will have certain duties which will not necessarily be always pleasant. That no unanimity on this issue is yet in sight can be illustrated by the downfall of the Jan Per Syse bourgeois government last October. In an attempt to adjust the national legislation to the jurisdiction of the Common Market, he suggested that foreigners be granted equal rights with Norwegians to purchase real estate and the natural resources of Norway. The Centre Party, a partner in the coalition, did not like the idea: its members believe that Norwegians must remain indisputable masters at home.

At present the cabinet is again headed by the experienced Gro Harlem Brundtland, who proclaimed on behalf of the Norwegian Labour Party a more cautious "European course."

Of late the premier has been hinting that it would not be bad to be accepted as member of the Community. She stresses the importance of including Norway in the process of European integration. A step towards it was made in mid-May when six member countries of the European Free Trade Association – including Norway – signed an agreement with the EC on establishing as of 1993 a single European economic space. Public opinion polls show an unusually even distribution of votes between the EC supporters, its opponents and people without any definite point of view. Taking into consideration the fact that the country's population is divided into three camps and keeping in mind the abortive attempt in 1972 to convince the country of the need to enter the Common Market, the Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg has made an immaculate diplomatic remark: "We have to find out in detail what will the EC be like in future before we take any decision concerning our membership."

It is easy to understand the apprehensions of high-ranking supporters of integration: public statements on the score can be compared to probing for political mines. A single clumsy movement, that is, word, and your career is ruined. Therefore they pin special hopes on neighbouring Sweden which decided to promote the rapprochement with the EC and calls on the Northern countries to hand in a collective request to the Community asking for membership. The Swedes are supported by the Danes, who have been involved in the integration for a long time, but so far Oslo continues playing a childish game in which one cannot say either "yes" or "no."

When the train departs, the first to move is the engine, and only then the cars follow it with a start. Something like that is now taking place in the Norwegian society, whose progress is determined in the final count by the development of the economy. And the economy is obviously moving towards rapprochement with Europe.

This is especially noticeable in the financial sphere. Since last year the exchange rate of the national currency has been tied to the ECU which actually means that the kroner has got into the EC "currency basket." From Norway's main trading partner the Community is changing into an area of the country's investments. The loss of "blood" is especially badly felt, because Norwegian industry which is in a bad need of major investments does not attract investors.

"Our industrial production has grown only by 5 percent in the past 15 years," worries Gro Harlem Brundtland, "while that of our partners has grown by 30 percent."

True, the policy of creating special conditions for national enterprises has not yielded any tangible fruit: unemployment rate remains exceedingly high, and the branches which are not connected with oil extraction show practically no sign of progress.

Doctor Stockman in the famous *An Enemy of the People* by the classical Norwegian writer Ibsen claims that only those who act alone are strong. But at present Oslo is looking with hope to the EC, since close relations and partnership with it will provide a more reliable defence for Norway's interests within the world economic system. In general, the EC is regarded as a tugboat capable of pulling Norway out of its troubles and modernizing its economy. In order to teach the "Norwegian baby" to swim, it is suggested that it be thrown into the turbulent torrent of integration, hoping that the strong national spirit and the support of the "big brothers" won't let it drown until it learns the secrets of the "European style."

Around the 62 parallel

While the happy future is still ahead, the "life belt" for the high standard of living in the country is oil extraction from the sea shelf, and the raising of oil prices was a salvation for the national budget. Last year it accounted for 10 percent of the GNP or 29 billion kroner.

"Governments come and go, but oil policy remains stable," says Egil Helle, an expert at the Ministry of the Oil and Power Industry, because it is based on the consensus between the parties. The government has all the rights to the continental shelf, distributing licences for the prospecting and extraction of oil and gas so that control over at least half of the joint production and extraction at each oilfield would remain in the hands of Norwegians. The government-owned Statoil company, the mixed Norsk Hydro company and the private Saga company have been founded with this end in mind. The country is also actively involving foreign firms, which can provide Norway with the necessary money, know-how and experience. While distributing concessions, preference is given to those corporations which also invest into the advancement of the economy on land and into Norway's know-how."

From the very outset Norwegians decided to avoid an oil rush and put oil extraction under control. Until the year 1980 licences were given only for areas to the south of latitude 62 degrees North and only recently Northern waters have been partly opened for geological prospecting. The production of 90-110 million tons a year is considered optimal, though the discovered oil reserves will last for at least 20 years (in the Soviet Union this index is 13 years). Norway is the only Western country which extracts more oil than it consumes. Nevertheless, the extraction of gas is encouraged. Its reserves will last for at least 73 years (53 years in the USSR). Experts claim that they can find new deposits of fuel, comparable in size to the already discovered.

"In the past all the money (and the state takes 90 percent of the brutto-profit from oil extraction and four fifths of the profits of the oil companies) were immediately chanelled to cover the expenses of the government and the population," Egil Helle goes on to say. "But such a short-sighted policy is at present considered outdated. A so-called 'oil fund' is being formed for the future needs of the country. Surplus profits are automatically included into the fund, and the government can use money from it only with a special permission of the Storting which, however, prefers saving money for a 'rainy day.'"

His story was interrupted by a telephone call: the minister called to apologize to the *New Times* correspondent because he wouldn't be able to grant an interview, since he was stuck fast at the cabinet's meeting discussing the question of utilizing gas from the Heidrun oil field. It was suggested that gas from that field be pumped to the Middle Norway coast as the fuel for a power plant and a raw material for a methanol plant. The Minister of the Oil and Power Industry fully supports the idea but the Minister of the Environment is against the new power plant, while the Finance Minister believes that the project will not be repaid. Disputes around Heidrun are quite symptomatic, since more and more often voices are heard urging to count not only the kroner allocated for a project, but also the tons of pollution.

No changes at the northern front

The farther you move to the north of Norway, the more sparse is the population. Finally, its polar "tail" ends in a 196-km-long border with the Soviet Union. For many years it has been the only border in Europe where NATO and the Soviet Union geographically opposed each other. Norway did its best not to tease its mighty neighbour and limited NATO's military presence in its northern areas, but the USSR, regrettably, couldn not (the unfreezing naval bases of the Kola peninsula!), and at times did not want to (where else can we deploy our Euromissiles?) reciprocate.

And only in the past few years the situation began to change for the better, since both countries started – though for different reasons – reducing their armed forces, and East and West stopped shaking their fists at each other. It seems the situation could be completely normalized, but the sins of the past are in the way. The long-term plans of deploying the US Navy close to the Norwegian coast envisage the setting up of a "technical service point" there – that's how NATO staff officers delicately call the land-bases stores and repair shops for US aircraft carriers calling at northern ports. The Soviet "aircraft carrying cruiser" (the Russian staff officers' language is also great and mighty) built in the Black Sea, will most likely be stationed at Murmansk. The not-too-promising prerequisites for the promotion of good-neighbourliness are exacerbated by the moans of opponents of disarmament both in Oslo and in Moscow.

The demarcation line between the Soviet and Norwegian economic zones has not been determined, and new disputes have arisen over nuclear tests on Novaya Zemlya. The scheme for Norway's participation in team with Finland and Sweden in cutting harmful exhausts of nickel factories at the Kola peninsula is back to the talk stage. The Norwegian government does not like the Soviet initiatives made by Mikhail Gorbachev in Murmansk in 1987 and repeated a year later by Nikolai Ryzhkov in Oslo, but it makes no proposals of its own, looking up to its NATO allies. The Soviet Union's interest in the North seems to be forgotten against the background of disturbances in other areas of the USSR.

Border contacts among people and business ties are advancing, but without any stimulus from the national authorities. Some observers believe it is time for the two countries' governments to consider the entire complex of intertwined interests and set up an authorized working group for that purpose. Others object that the bureaucrats will doom any promising venture.

And still, some impetus must be given, otherwise there will be no rapid progress.

Alexander Polyukhov,
our own correspondent
OSLO-STOCKHOLM

TASS photo

Security does not come cheap

The Soviet Union is pulling its troops out of Central and Eastern Europe. The troops had been deployed there during the time of the cold war according to agreements concluded with Central and East European legitimate governments. The deployment was seen as a measure necessary for defending the Soviet Union and allied socialist countries from the military threat constituted by NATO. Such was that time's reality, no matter how sincerely we may now wish to revise our attitude to the cold war, the motives and sources of that time's Soviet foreign policies.

Victor Kremenyuk,
D. Sc. (History)

The profound changes that have taken place in the Soviet policies in the past few years allow us to cast a broader look at the problems of European security and national security of the Soviet Union. Those changes made possible democratic reforms in East European countries and the resulting agreements concluded with some of those countries on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from their territories. The democratic changes have also resulted in the agreement on dissolution of the military structure of the Warsaw Pact. These measures were taken in parallel with the concluding stages of the CFE talks and the talks with Germany on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from its Eastern part by 1994.

It might seem that the process was acceptable for all. European security was strengthened on the basis of qualitatively new principles, the threat of armed confrontation was removed, and it seemed that the Soviet pullouts would calm the insulted national awareness of the nations where the Soviet troops had been stationed.

There is one extremely important aspect of this problem, though: the cost of the pullout operatios. As they withdraw from Eastern Europe, the Soviet troops do not only leave behind garrisons and residential premises which had taken tremendous sums to build. The Soviet Union also has to mobilize railways, motor, sea and air transport, to assign fuel and lubricants, to move that transport, fuel and lubricants to the deployment areas, to load the troops and carry them back home. At home, the Soviet Union will also face gigantic expences: the troops withdrawn fron Eastern Europe will need barracks, housing, drill and testing sites, etc., which will have to be built as soon as possible. Let us not forget that Poland has requested that the Soviet Union pay for the transit of home-bound troops through the Polish territory and Hungary has demanded that the Soviet side compensate for the environmental damage inflicted by Soviet combat hardware.

Thus the pullout of Soviet troops from Central and Eastern Europe, which is carried out in the name of greater security of all European nations, becomes a heavy burden for the ailing Soviet economy. Besides the inevitable internal debate about the expediency of the pullout agreements, the prospect of new unproductive spendings may aggravate the solution of such urgent problems as cutting the budget deficit, support of the government anti-inflation programmes, etc. Moreover, the aggravation of social problems in the country will result in growing discontent among servicemen and their families.

What is to be done? Should we revise the pullout timetable in order to better align it with the feeble resources of the Soviet economy? To procrastinate the ratification of the pullout accords in order to balance the budget? After all, the cost of this country's international commitments cannot be covered at the expense of people's living standards. In the past such issues were easily solved by the Politburo, but today there is no way to solve the problem without the ratification of the pullout agreement in parliament, where strong doubts may arise as to the expediency of the related spendings.

Another idea for the West: pay for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Central and Eastern Europe, too

However, there is one suggestion to ponder. When it moved against Iraq militarily, in the interests of the world community and in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions, the United States made it plain to its allies and some Arab countries that they would have to split the war bill with Washington. The press specualtes that after it finally calculates the cost of its involvement in the Persian Gulf war, the Bush administration may receive a compensation of US $42 to 50 billion. The deal is fair: after all, the United States protected the interests of all countries importing Gulf oil, not only Washington's egoistic interests, or those of Kuwait.

The pullout of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe is not a Soviet unilateral action, taken in the interests of the USSR alone. All European countries are interested in a speedier withdrawal, so that a new security structure could be created in Europe, based on principles different from the old bipolar approaches. In this case, it would be only logical and fair that European states follow the German example and share the Soviet expenses, if they really believe the Soviet withdrawal is so important for greater European security.

■

Where are our pounds?

The Soviet government used to support miners' strikes and even transferred money to them

The summer of 1990. Arthur Scargill, President of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was charged with appropriating roughly two million pounds of the sums transferred by Soviet trade unions in 1984 and 1985 to help striking miners in Britain. Charges investigated by journalists appeared in *The Daily Mirror* and in TV programmes.

An investigation carried out at the request of the trade union gave grounds to believe that Scargill was to blame not for the appropriation of funds but for not very ethical operations with them. However, Yuri Butchenko, leader of the independent miners' union of the USSR, added fuel to the flames on arriving in London by saying he would seek the return of the funds transferred to the National Union of Mineworkers in the past. Speaking at a trade union conference in Durham, Scargill disclosed that the funds had been deposited on a secret account of the Paris-based International Miners' Organization.

Sergei Masalovich, leader of the Vorkuta miners, also has a bearing on the investigation of the "Scargill embezzlement" case started by Scotland Yard. At a press conference in London he asserted that the Soviet miners had transferred 3.6 million pounds to the British miners and that the money disappeared without a trace. Incidentally, the investigation bodies tried to find Masalovich to obtain eye-witness evidence following his charge, but they were unable to find him.

However, detectives intend to find another man who wrote an anonymous letter, claiming that the leadership of the trade union was guilty of swindling and forging financial documents.

1984. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decided to give assistance to striking miners in Britain. The decision was preceded by Scargill's address to the Soviet Embassy. Andrei Gromyko sent a telex to Paris in which he gave the final approval of the decision. One million dollars were transferred to the NUM account in the EBC Bank in Zurich. It would be ridiculous to assert that one million dollars had been raised by Soviet miners who have not had hard currency till now.

The Swiss bankers sent the deposit back, saying it was illegal. Half a year passed while the bodies concerned thought how to report on the affair to the CPSU Central Committee and what measures to take. In December 1984 London was visited by Mikhail Gorbachev, then a second man in Moscow. In a conversation with him Margaret Thatcher persistently recommended Moscow not to complicate interstate relations by giving assistance to the miners. I do not know whether "a special relationship" between Mrs Thatcher and Mikhail Gorbachev formed at that time, but the fact that the Soviet leadership heeded the request and acted accordingly undoubtedly contributed to it.

The British journalists who have investigated the case are sure that both the Soviet Embassy in London and the KGB warned Gorbachev of the danger of "direct support." This evidently was the main factor in taking the decision. In any way, after Gorbachev's visit to Britain the Miners' Union said that the money should be used to back miners not only in Britain but also in other countries. Scargill demonstrated understanding of the situation. An account was opened in the Irish Intercontinental Bank in Dublin. Following that, 1,137,000 dollars were transferred through the Narodowy Bank Polski to the mentioned account in the Irish capital. The Hungarian and East German authorities increased it to 1,400,000 dollars.

May 1991. The Guardian carried out a new investigation, disclosing in particular that Western intelligence services had examined Soviet bank transfers in Europe in order to find traces of financial aid to the British miners. The "Scargill case" is swelling, and it is not clear how it will end.

One thing is clear. The Soviet government did not object to miners' strikes and even did not spare hard currency to back some of them.

Sergei Babusenko
our own correspondent
LONDON

■ The 8th Moscow International Bookfair will be held on the grounds of the USSR Exhibition of Economic Achievements, Moscow, from September 3 to 9 of this year.

■ The Administration of international bookfairs and exhibitions has the following address: 103006, Moscow, ul.Chekhova 16. Telephone: 299-40-34. Telegraph: Moscow EXPOKNIGA

© НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ DESIGN

"Dear compatriots"

Kronid Lyubarsky

When they selectively reinstate people in Soviet citizenship, the authorities are least concerned about justice. They have simply decided that this gesture will serve their purpose at the moment. There used to be "useful Jews," why not having "useful emigrants" today?

I was one of many other emigrants who were invited for a Congress of Compatriots to be held in Moscow this August, as well as in (I have nearly written "hero cities") "cultural centres" of Russia – Petersburg (Leningrad), Yekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk), Novgorod, Novosibirsk and Perm. The programme of the Congress included "seminars, meetings of scientists, businessmen, people of culture and the arts; the art festival Russia Abroad; historical and philosophical discussions "The Ways of Russia"; a series of meetings and trips across Russia; exhibitions of works of Russian craftsmen; pilgrimage to Russian shrines; visits to famous Russian monasteries, temples, shrines, etc."

The Organizing Committee said it was prepared "to accept up to 1,000 guests in large cities of Russia." The invitation was issued on behalf of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Republic and at the end of it the organizers exclaimed with a feeling: "Our hearts, our doors are wide open for you!"

No "go-ahead" from Moscow

I cannot read the feelings people cherish in their hearts, but I had a chance to see what the "open doors" meant on the part of the Organizing Committee. I applied for a Soviet entry visa to attend the Sakharov Congress held in Moscow this May, but the Soviet consulate in Munich informed me they could not issue me a visa without a go-ahead from Moscow. Since no go-ahead telex from Moscow had been received, the issuance of an entry visa was out of the question. The go-ahead was received on the night before the departure after much pulling of ropes in high places. The Organizing Committee's mention of "open doors" was not what you could describe as adequate information. The lists of "undesirable compatriots" are still kept in all Soviet consulates.

Several days after the 1989 revolution, the National Salvation Front of Rumania issued a decree according to which the emigrants stripped of Rumanian citizenship were welcomed "to return to their fatherland without any fears for their life or safety." Several weeks after the "velvet revolution" the government of Czechoslovakia asked the emigrants "to forget the injustices and insults incurred onto them" and to return home "to help renew the country by their experience and means." As for Russia, in the sixth year of "revolutionary perestroika" it has only matured to issue "a brotherly call" for "compatriots living abroad" to unite the soul of Russia scattered all over the world and to awaken Russia's national dignity."

It seems that the Czecks, Slovaks and Rumanians have happier ideas about national dignity. They honestly apologized and asked the emigrants to come back, instead of offering them "an art festival, a series of meetings and trips and pilgrimage to Russian shrines."

I am speaking about Russia and not the USSR as a whole not only because the Congress of Compatriots is to be held under the auspices of the Russian parliament. Not because my previous insistent calls on similar issues addressed to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR remained unheeded: on various occasions the Russian parliament has demonstrated that it is profoundly indifferent to trifles like human rights. I am deeply convinced that the only way out of the current crisis is to strengthen the national sovereignty of republics, first of all the largest republic, Russia.

The declaration of sovereignty of Russia has become a milestone on the way to the restoration of Russia's national dignity. I would like to remind members of the Russian parliament, however, that sovereignty of a state is first manifested in that state's attitude to its citizens and only then in that state's having or not having its own KGB or a budget. When a state finds it had incurred an injustice on one of its citizens, it becomes the duty of the state to repair that injustice. This duty becomes especially pressing when many hundreds of thousands of citizens had been offended by the state. A country that cannot protect the rights of its citizens is not a sovereign country.

In the Information section annexed to the Organizing Committee's address, the organizers informed that they deemed it their duty to work out new programmes of political and economic assistance to our compatriots living abroad and to repair the injustices incurred on them in the past. Then the document said something incoherent about the Russian parliament working on the problems of citizenship, political and economic rights of Russian people living abroad." I am not sure about "the economic rights" (in the time when everyone is crazy about hard currency in the USSR, this problem can well be worked out), but I dare say that the Information lied about the civic and political rights. The parliament of Russia never considered them.

Drawing by Valentin Mokiyevsky

For the first time the question of returning citizenship to people unlawfully stripped of it was raised by the committees of the Russian parliament in September 1990 in connection with the effort to work out the Law on Rehabilitation intended to amnesty all citizens of Russia who have been subject to political persecution after October 1917. The point about restoration of citizenship was included in the draft law on my initiative (fortunately, I had a chance to participate in the hearings). The case in point was restoration of citizenship in principle, without specifying the procedure and was only several lines long, but it was a breakthrough.

On October 30, 1990, the Day of the Political Prisoner of the USSR, the Law on Rehabilitation was submitted to the discussion of the Supreme Soviet of Russia only to be sent for additional improvement. Correspondingly, the discussion of citizenship was postponed for an indefinite time.

This February I visited the Supreme Soviet of Russia once again and raised the question of people stripped of citizenship at various times. It turned out that nothing had been done along this line. I received a piece of well-meant advice: to work out a draft law myself. I followed the advice, worked out a detailed draft law, the procedure of the law coming into force and wrote a detailed memorandum. The texts were then circulated among the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, members of the Supreme Consultative and Coordinating Committee under the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia and a number of other people, including M. Tolstoy, Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the Congress of Compatriots.

So far there has been no response. This is all what the parliament of Russia has so far cared to do about repairing the injustices done to Russian people living abroad.

The three waves

How did those "Russian people living abroad" appear and what injustices are we talking about? It is difficult to say exactly how many Russian people are currently settled abroad. Besides, it is difficult to separate "Russian people" proper from people who had lived in the old Russian Empire and then the Soviet empire. We must also agree whether the notion includes those people's numerous offsprings. However, there is no doubt that the number is running into millions.

Traditionally, Russian emigration is divided into three waves and it is presumed that there had been no emigration before the revolution. There are reasons for this forgetfulness. Without mentioning the fact that the scale of pre-1917 emigration was incomparable with the post-revolutionary exodus, we must agree that temporarily the pre-revolution emigration is as remote from us as the great migration of the peoples.

The same is true of the first wave of emigration which coincides with the time of the revolution and the civil war. The tragedy of Russian exodus and later expulsions (1922 and later) will not be erased from the memory soon, but most exiles themselves are no more. Their children, grand- and great-grandchildren now live in various countries across the world. They are loyal citizens of their countries and although many of them remember their Russian roots, their connection with historical fatherland is purely immaterial. We must be grateful to them for their having preserved that immaterial connection, we may ask them for help and support. If some of them fancy to visit Russia, they must be welcome here. However, no injustice has been done **personally to them** and it may be a futile and risky endeavour to repair the injustices dating back almost a century ago.

Many of the people who were landed outside Russia by the second wave of emigration that coincided with WW2 are already dead, but some of them, although old, are in sound health. In the times of Stalin and later such people were seen as criminals, but there were no formal condemnation. They were never stripped of Soviet citizenship: they simply ceased to exist as far as the state was concerned.

Now that the social atmosphere has changed, a sincere invitation removing their natural fears would be enough to get them back home (if they want to return, naturally). It stands to reason if some are suspected of having committed war crimes, the list of such persons must be published. The invitation must not become a trap. As for actual criminals, not imaginary ones, there are extradition procedures for them.

The real problem arises in connection with the third wave of emigration which has swept at the time of Brezhnev-Gorbachev. Most of third wave emigrants are alive and well and many of them still remember the smell of Russian air. There are hundreds of thousands of such people. This category is the most difficult one: all or almost all such emigrants had been stripped of citizenship de jure and de facto. From the viewpoint of

the state, they are not simply foreigners, they are something much worse than that.

A small number of such people – a little bit more than one hundred, if we speak about Russians – have had the honour of being stripped of citizenship by special decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Sometimes people were simply thrown out of the country right from labour camps and prisons: Solzhenitsyn, Orlov, Ginzburg, Vins etc. (In a hurry, the authorities could have made mistakes – contrary to the recent publications in the Moscow press, Bukovsky was never stripped of citizenship, but was simply expelled from the USSR). Sometimes people were allowed to visit friends or colleagues abroad and were then barred from returning home: Chalidze, Kopelev, Voynovich, Rostropovich, Grigorenko, etc.

What were the motives offered? The formula was the same every time: "expelled for actions discrediting the status of the citizen of the USSR." When it applied this formula, the state did not even understand how compromising and shameful it was for the state itself. Ordinary killers and rapists, Beria's butchers, people like the notorious bribetakers Odylov, Medunov, Shchelokov, etc., have never discredited the status of the citizen of the USSR. They were "socially friendly" ones. As for the books by Voynovich and Kopelev, human rights fighter Chalidze – these could not be compatible with Soviet citizenship.

Sometimes it was possible to get to know concrete reasons for victimization of less-known people. This is how the KGB explained the guilt of Olga Vähäsalo now residing in Finland: "By using international and Soviet postal channels, she regularly carried out ideological indoctrination of residents of the Latvian SSR she knew personally and systematically mailed anti-Soviet propaganda material to them." In other words, the woman used to send letters and books to her friends. A charge that outweighs all charges against the bribetaker Odylov.

Besides, it is time to decipher the phrase, "the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has decreed..." The High Presidium never watched Olga Vähäsalo's correspondence in corpore. We know that people were stripped of citizenship and expelled from the country "on the motion by the State Security Committee (KGB)." The KGB is the body whose requests no one dares to turn down – not even the president, as the Kalugin affair has shown.

The principle of collective guilt

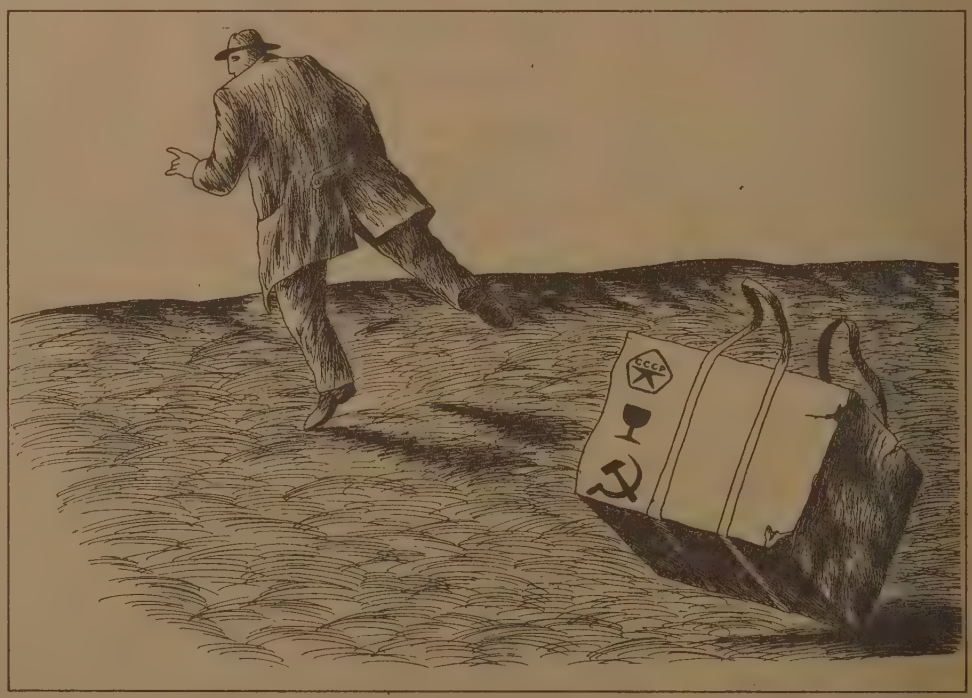
It is simple to restore justice vis-à-vis such people: they had been stripped of citizenship by decree, and they must be reinstated in it by decree. Partially, this was done last year when the President issued a decree returning Soviet citizenship to several dozens of people. It is a pity though that the President was not courageous enough to apologize to them on behalf of the state he heads. It is even a greater pity that citizenship was not returned **to all the people** – those not listed in the presidential decree were advised to apply for citizenship in accordance with established procedure. As usual, such a minor thing as human dignity was overlooked.

Thus, the presidential decrees were issued not for the sake of justice (justice cannot be selective), not because it was finally recognized that no one can arbitrarily be stripped of his/her citizenship. The reason was simple: someone decided that at the **current stage** the state would benefit from such a gesture. There used to be "useful Jews," why not have "useful emigrants" now?

The injustice done to individual people has at least some juridical foundation: the Law on Citizenship of the USSR really vested the right to strip people of citdizenship in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the new version of the law vests this right in President of the USSR. However, the bulk of the third emigration wave is made up of an entirely different category of people.

On February 17, 1967, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a decree according to which people who emigrated from the USSR to reside in Israel according to their expressly formulated desire were regarded as deprived of Soviet citizenship. This decree was not intended for publication and has become known only recently – after the Constitution Committee of the Soviet parliament demanded its publication in February 1991. The reason for the Presidium's reluctance to publish the decree is obvious: the decree violates not only international law, but even the Soviet Constitution and the Law on Citizenship which did not allow the Presidium to indiscriminately deprive people of citizenship. The decree was the first application of the principle of collective guilt since Stalin's collective repression of whole peoples.

Actually, the decree was racist, because it mentioned Israel alone. Germans emigrating to West Germany, Greeks emigrating to Greece and Arme-



Drawing by Arkady Gursky

nians emigrating to the USA (meaning massive emiration) never lost their Soviet passports.

Meanwhile the decree soon ceased to be a purely Jewish affair. It was important for the authorities to demonstrate that there was no political emigration from the USSR, only some restless Jews left the country to reunite with their families. The notion of "Israeli channel" appeared. This channel was frequently used to expel dissidents, former prisoners of conscience, people dissatisfied with the regime, etc. The state used the Israeli channel to let off steam. Thousands of people which had no relations in Israel or anywhere outside the USSR left the country in order to reunite with their families in Israel. Jews and Russians, Bashkirs and Tatars, Ukrainians and Letts, Kazakhs and Itelmens... Everybody knew they had no families in Israel – the KGB and the OVIR (the passport and visa department of the Soviet Interior Ministry) knew it better than anyone else – but on the surface everything was ship-shape. People left for Israel under the threat of arrest, unemployment, being locked in at a mental hospital, victimization, etc, some emigrated in protest against the inhumane system that could not provide decent living standards for its people...

After I had served a term in a labour camp and a political prison and threatened with the prospect of facing three fresh criminal charges, I took the difficult decision to emigrate. I came to the local OVIR office and presented an invitation from the United States. An officer of the Kaluga KGB department shook his head: "The United States is too good a country. We need an invitation from Israel." The officer knew only too well that as a Russian I had no intention of leaving for Israel, but he also knew something I did not: if I emigrated to Israel, I would be stripped of citizenship automatically; if I emigrated to "the too good a country," a special decree would have been needed.

The experts of "individual approach" in some cases blackmailed people into renouncing their citizenship, threatening to refuse an exit visa to them, in other cases they simply stole citizenship, making no mention of the fact. The only thing they did in any case was to charge the applicant money, rarely explaining for what exactly service the applicant had to pay. By the way, it may be interesting to know at how much "the status of the citizen of the USSR" retailed. The acceptance to Soviet citizenship was 50 kopecks, the deprivation of it (in case of emigration to a capitalist country) was 500 rubles (Decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR No. 648 of June 29, 1979).

Such "Israelis" of all nationalities scattered all over the world now constitute the bulk – many hundreds of thousands – of the first-generation compatriots living abroad (Israel is by no means the home of most of them). A decree removing the lawlessness committed onto them must be adopted. As is the usual practice in such cases, the February 1969 Decree must be declared "invalid from the date of adoption" and all concrete decisions taken on the basis of this decree must be declared "null and void and having no legal force" (on May 20, 1991, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR recognized the 1967 decree as "of no legal force" starting with July 1, 1991 – **Ed.**).

It is necessary to apologize to the exiles and to offer them a real choice to return or to stay abroad, with no strings attached and no additional applications needed.

One should not think of course that people who have settled in the new place, most of them well-established and living a prosperous life, who have children, including children born after the emigration, will rush to return to the conflict-ridden USSR only to face the prospects of famine there. They can be understood and are not to blame. On the other hand, those who will opt to return will be really good citizens of Russia and it would be stupid to reject them.

Ironically, I have to explain all this to the law makers of the Russian Republic. It would seem that the compatriots in the East should be more interested in restoring justice than do the compatriots in the West. We had been expelled, but it is **up to you** to decide what kind of society **you** want to live in: a just society committed to the rule of law, or the lawless society you have lived in.

Two waves of emigration disappeared before justice could triumph. The third wave is not getting any younger either. Your nice decrees and laws are of no use for the victims of labour camps and mental hospitals – poets Viktor Nekipelov and Vadim Delone, political journalist Andrei Amalrik, historian Vladlen Pavlenkov, general Grigorenko, church historian Anatoly Krasnov-Levitin (I am mentioning only several most well-known names). Each day of your hesitation and indecisiveness is also the day of somebody's death.

By hesitating to bury the heritage of the past, you shoulder a formidable responsibility: it may be soon too late for yourselves. In Russia, as the folk wisdom has it, a prison cell and a beggar's bowl should never be counted out.

Need any rich uncles?

These ideas occurred to me on the eve of the Congress of Compatriots. The time of the Congress is drawing closer and there are no indications that my ideas may finally prove wrong.

"Problems of citizenship, political and economic rights of Russian people living abroad" must be discussed not at the congress, but in parliament which has legal powers to handle such matters.

Indeed, emigrants (dissidents, prisoners of conscience, victims of repression, etc.) are in great demand now. When they come back, they invariably meet enthusiastic reception. In the past they were called traitors, then a milder definition was found: "people who left the country in times of trouble." Today society has lapsed into the opposite extreme and emigrants are in fashion. It seems that emigrants are needed only as emigrants: "our people abroad who can send an invitation or carry out a request, or to accept somebody as a guest, or to set up a joint venture. Rich (by Soviet standards, of course) American uncles. Useful Jews.

However, a serious dialogue can only be maintained not with "compatriots living abroad," but with fellow citizens enjoying equal rights and having equal duties.

Soon the preparatory effort for the Congress will enter its final stage. Soon Soviet officials posted in consulates abroad will start frowning on the invitations to the Congress, telling the applicants that such invitations are not good enough for a visa. There will be much rope-pulling and organizers of the congress will be pressing the authorities into issuing go-ahead signals. Someone will not be even let in. Someone will take the invitation seriously and will be caught outside the "hero-cities" to be ignominously sent back "for violation of the visa regime."

I cannot say how the congress itself will go on. The principle of inviting participants remains unclear and it is unknown whether there is any principle at all. Who will make up the one thousand guests the Organizing Committee is going to accept? Whose speeches will be heard at "seminars on Russian history, economics, religion, philosophy, politics, literature, the arts, social psychology, genealogy, etc.?" The papers circulated by the Organizing Committee are filled with speculations about the Russian soul, but provide little practical information.

It is good that someone has remembered the emigrants. But an unpleasant analogy comes to mind in this connection. During the war the administration of labour camps used to address the convicts with a patriotic call: the fatherland is in danger, the fatherland needs help and each working day is another blow on the enemy. The convicts understood there was a war going on – and broke their backs working.

From orphanage to America

Thousands of people in the United States want to adopt Soviet children

Vladimir Voina

There is one sphere of Soviet-American cooperation which has so far been hushed up in here but is widely discussed in the United States. The matter in question is American adoption of Soviet orphans, the unfortunate occupants of Soviet orphanages. A lot of people in the United States are ready to commit this act of charity now.

Much has been written about the tragedy of orphaned children in this country. No humanitarian assistance from the West, no toys, candies or clothes can make the life of orphans any happier and their prospects for life after the orphanage are gloomy. The noble efforts by this country's best educators are doomed to failure, because when they leave orphanages young people find themselves in an obvious disadvantage: they do not have a place to live in, they have no profession, their chances to continue education are negligible and no one really cares about them. Their plight is aggravated by the looming prospect of unemployment, the absence of any chances to get housing, the growing aggressiveness of society. Orphans grow up only to be left out in the societal cold.

Meanwhile thousands of families in the United States would love to adopt a child from the Soviet Union. They want to become new parents for the child, to bring him or her up in prosperity, care and affection, to give him orther good education and a happier life. I have been asked many times which authority Americans willing to adopt a Soviet orphan should address. They said they could leave for the USSR immediately and would not stop short of any expenses... What answer could I give? I know that there are many families in the Soviet Union willing to adopt a child, but the laws and regulations on adoption are very complicated. Is there a solution?

I have seen adopted children from as far away as Vietnam, Korea and other countries in many American families. For decades we have been listening to false propaganda defining all Americans as racists. The new generations of Americans are kind, just and tolerant to people of any culture. We could learn from them to be tolerant and to forget about chauvinism. Soviet orphans would be treated with special kindness in America. Millions of Americans cherish the memories of their parents, grandparents and greatgrandparents who came from Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Armenia. Besides, the Americans feel exceedingly friendly towards us now. This friendliness also means sympathy with our troubles, hardships, shortages, the concern for those on whom these difficulties are especially hard – the orphaned children. After all, the parcels of humanitarian help will never solve the problem. Perhaps, we could find some legal possibility for American adoption of Soviet orphans?

Naturally, the children who have at least one parent (absent as a result of conviction or other personal circumstances) will not qualify for the adoption procedure. But there are very many children whose parents are unknown... Whose interests can be affected in this case?

Let us think of something else too. By allowing the adoption of orphans we could significantly improve the conditions in orphanages for the children who will remain there. If there were a special Soviet-American relief foundation for orphaned children, millions of dollars would be coming to its accounts from private funds, sponsors, charitable organizations, and especially from the childless parents whom such a foundation could make happy. As far as I gathered from the talks with my American friends, a contribution of 25,000 dollars is not really much for the occasion. However, I do not think there must be any rigid terms, such as a compulsory contribution, so that no one could interpret this charitable undertaking as "slave trafficking." Many people will willingly respond to the call, a chain reaction of good deeds will start and some people will donate money.

The money could then be used to build model orphanages with playgrounds, gymnasia, halls for artistic education, advanced equipment, generous salaries for teachers and nurses, best educators, fantastic conditions for summer-time rest... Such new-type ophanages unprecedented in this country would be attracting children, instead of scaring them off.

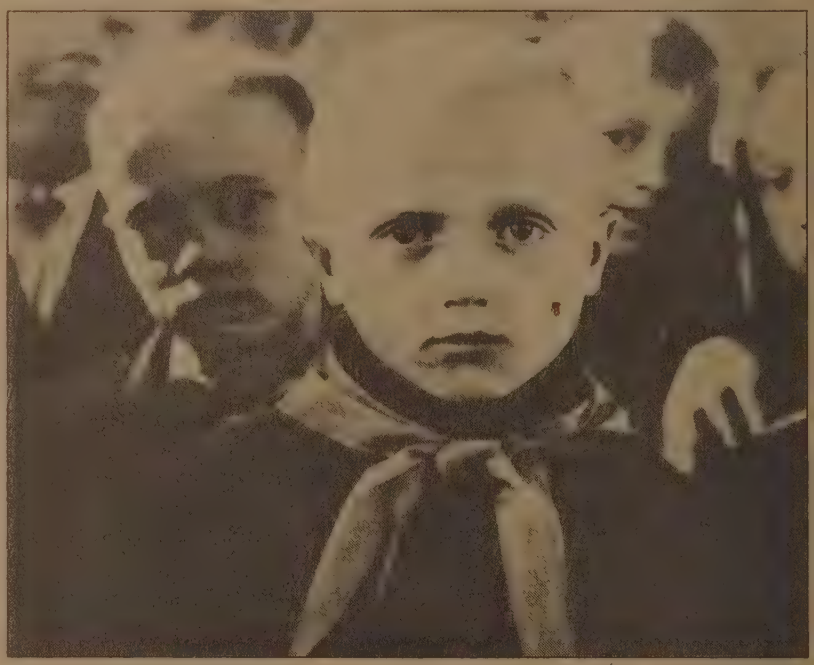


Photo by Antanas Sutkus

Direct ties could be established with the American cities and towns which sponsored the construction of such orphanages, children and their teachers would be able to spend summer in the United States, the adopted children would preserve friendly ties with their friends who remained in the Soviet Union... There would be an incentive for learning foreign languages, developing intellectual abilities, there would appear a "privileged class" of children and "the privileges" would be at least a partial compensation for the loss of parents and the feeling of inferiority.

What about the children for whom the United States would become a new homeland? Children are very receptive to new languages, new cultures, new social conditions and there would be no reason to worry about their future. They would know, at the same time, that they have two homes, they would preserve their native language. Having received education in America and learned the American work ethics, some of them would like to return to this country and to help it – such people would be invaluable for us. Generally speaking, we are becoming more and more cosmopolitan, and things like passports, borders and citizenships are becoming less and less of a problem... Soviet-American links would be strengthened as a result of the emergence of a group of people equally attached to both fatherlands. Whose interests would it hurt?

Naturally, the problem is quite complicated and we would need the opinion of lawyers, educators and the children about whose fate we are so concerned.

I know of two people in America the acquaintance with whom has moved me to write this article. They are Mr and Mrs Denenberg, political scientists from the Cornell University, a very humane and kind couple. I have received a letter from them saying: "There has been tremendous publicity about harsh conditions in orphanages in Rumania, and Americans flocked to Bucharest to adopt children." The implication was simple: isn't it about time I wrote about the Americans willing to adopt a Soviet child?

Indeed it's time.

PS. Should anyone be willing to contact the Denenbergs (better write in English), their address is: Tia Schneider Denenberg, Richard V. Denenberg, Church Road, Jackson Corners, Box 357, R.D. 1, Red Hook, NY 12571.

PUBLISHERS

EKONOMIKA

The Soviet Union's largest Publishing House turning out books on economics

- lease-holding
- private enterprise
- cooperative movement
- economic sociology
- economic aspects of ethnic relations
- socialist market
- inflation
- shadow economy

Russian and international economic heritage
The history of Soviet economy
Textbooks and teaching aids for universities, colleges, technical and vocational schools

EKONOMIKA Publishers is planning to publish the following books (in Russian):

A GOOD MANAGER'S SECRETS,
I.V.Lipsits;

DOCUMENTS & OFFICE WORK, Reference book,
M.T.Likhachev;

YOUR ENTERPRISE'S FOREIGN CONTACTS,
A.V.Busygin, P.I.Sitnikov;

MARKETING, Dictionary,
Ye.T.Grebnev;

MANAGEMENT: foreign and Soviet experience,
L.Slepov

BUSINESSMAN'S DICTIONARY,
O.V.Amurzhuyev;

BUSINESSMAN'S ECONOMIC YEARBOOK,
G.S.Prazdnov, L.I.Kuznetsova.

Our address:

EKONOMIKA Publishers

6, Berezhkovskaya Nab., Moscow 121864, USSR.

Tel.: 240-58-18, 240-58-16, 240-48-72.

© НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ DESIGN

The World Paper

American artist Andy Warhold's prediction that in the future everyone would be famous – for 15 minutes – seems to have come true. In the current media mêlée of the electronic age, many faces and voices come and go. This section features those who have transcended the mainstream and remained famous, even thrived by revealing underlying truths about their societies.

Coluche spared no one... including himself

Memories of laughter

COLUCHE'S STORY IS that of "just a regular guy" who became a symbol for all of France. The son of an Italian bricklayer and a florist, he left the suburbs to sell flowers at the Sorbonne market in the significant month of May 1968; in the month that lilies of the valley wilt, student revolutions bloomed.

Everyone grabbed for lecture-hall microphones, overcome with an urge to speak out – even those with nothing to say. The middle class dreamed of becoming workers. But Michel Coluche had other ambitions. He didn't want to go back to the factory.

As the spokesman for the silent majority, he took the stage in striped Osh-Kosh overalls with a prominent potbelly, small round glasses, yellow stockings and a red nose – half clown, half drunkard. On stage, Michel Colucci became Coluche, a self-assured, reactionary, anti-youth, mysogynist, racist, alcoholic and crude Frenchman.

There was really nothing pleasing about him. He was probably the most repulsive person ever to appear on stage.

On the other hand, he also seemed to be the fiercest fighter of wrongs of his generation. Laughter buoyed his class struggle and the French allowed themselves to be led by an overweight clown spewing obscenities.

"I'm the fool who is an imbecile," said Coluche. His comic sketches poked fun at everyone, with equal vulgarity. No one was spared. "So, if I've read my Freud, the world has two problems, the ass and money. Since everyone has an ass, let's concentrate on the money." He accosted blacks. "Do you know why blacks have scratches on their faces on Mondays? "Because on Sunday they eat with forks." Then Jews. "Which are the three most important celebrations for the Jews? Yom Kippur, Rosh Hashanah and off-the-rack shops."

Even diseases became a joke. He defined AIDS (in French SIDAS) as *sauvagement introduit dans l'anus* and quipped, "There's little progress in the research because the rats refuse to do it in the laboratories." The consumer society was given ample servings of his sarcasm: "I'll write a best seller which will be called *Buy My Book.*" And politicians never escaped his sharp tongue: "Drugs kill 100 persons per year in France and alcohol kills 50,000; choose your camp my friend."

Coluche appeared on television for the first time on the eve of the 1974 presidential election and stole the show from presidential hopeful Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. As farfetched as it seemed, seven years later Coluche himself was campaigning.

"I appeal to the loafers, the filthy, drug addicts, alcoholics, gays, women, parasites, the young, the old, artists, crooks, dykes, apprentices, blacks, pedestrians, Arabs, the French, the crazy, the long-haired, transvestites, old communists, convinced abstentionists and, in short, all those who politi-

cians ignore, to vote for me."

Launched on a whim, political rivals saw little humour in his campaign. Polls gave him 16 percent. The unease of the ruling class heightened in November, when Ronald Reagan, B-movie actor, was elected president of the United States. Unphased, Coluche posed nude under a flag on campaign posters that read "blue, white and shit." The media quarantined him.

Barred from radio and television, he received loads of threatening letters. Finally, on March 15, he forfeited his candidacy and ran off to Guadeloupe in the Caribbean. Fed up with the stage and abandoned by his wife, Coluche renounced live performances.

He instead chose the screen, appearing in 11 films in five years. He earned a César for his role as a mechanic in *Tchao Pantin*. But he soon discovered that the words of others were less satisfying than his own.

He then abandoned his "life of leisure," his film career which allowed him nine months a year to lounge in the tropics feasting on omelettes spiced with hallucinogenic mushrooms, and returned to the airwaves. In 1985 he was the highest paid French TV host in history, earning over US$1,300 per hour. He drew record TV audiences. No longer did he sing *Misery, misery*, a rock song he wrote and performed in his band called *Vache Enragée* (Mad Cow).

But, never short on imagination, he struck up a new refrain, "I've had enough! Enough of all this food thrown out when others go through trash cans to feed themselves!"

Moved by the problem, he founded Restaurant of the Heart. With the help of large restaurant chains, butchers and cracker manufacturers, he collected surplus food in order to provide a daily meal for the down-and-out. Fast-food chains joined the cause offering as many as 25,000 meals in one fell swoop. One airline flew to the rescue of the poor, serving 5,000 meals. An agricultural syndicate offered to donate wagonloads of eggs.

"You have to do what you can," said Coluche. "Given my situation, my money, if I can do something for others, what have I got to lose?"

But his passion for his motorcycle did have a high price – his life. He died at age 41 in June of 1986 when his bike crashed on a midnight ride.

Ironically, old age seems unobtainable for some recent names in French comedy. The business of making people laugh has become risky. Three other of France's brightest comedians have died young. The more scathing their comments, the sooner they seem to kick the bucket; Reiser, Pierre Desproges, Thierry le Luron, all have died in their 40s. There must be plenty of humor up there!

Anna Alter
PARIS, FRANCE

Brazil's king of carnival rules with imagination

INTELLECTUALS LIKE POVERTY, the poor adore opulence." So once said Joaozhino Trinta, an idol in Rio's shantytowns whose name has become legend in Brazil's wild, opulent two-day carnival extravaganza. Intellectuals have called him a genius, King Hassan II of Morocco has approached him to organize New Year's Eve celebrations in Rabat and he has even been approached to design an international carnival show for DisneyWorld in the US.

In Brazil, Trinta is to carnival what Pelé was to soccer and Carmen Miranda to samba. Unlike any other celebrity, Trinta has largely achieved his fame through his yearly carnival performance as the leader of the Beija Flor samba school. Brazilians usually celebrate singers, soccer players, TV celebrities and car racers. That would seem to exclude Trinta from being legend material, but because carnival is one of the three biggest national passions, along with samba and soccer, he has become an idol who can keep five million viewers seated overnight in front of TV sets to watch the performance of Beija Flor.

Last year, Beija Flor failed to win the award for best performance among the 16 largest samba schools in competition. In contrast to the usual recriminations and protest that follow these contests, there were no complaints when Trinta admitted his defeat.

Despite his defeat, Trinta made his mark on the parade. Through an unorthodox mix of Lewis Carrol and typical Brazilian irony, Trinta concocted a performance called "Alice in a Brazilian Wonderland" that satirized life in a country which government officials depict as the eighth-largest economy while a huge portion of the popoulation lives in almost Bangladesh-like conditions. Performed by 1,800 dancers, the samba school's show was a luxurious, million-dollar extravaganza featuring computerized lighting and sound, whimsical parade cars and erotic costumes.

The Rio's carnival's number-one-showman is perhaps the most Brazilian of all Brazilian contemporary idols. Born to a poor, working class family in the northern state of Maranhao, one of the most impoverished regions of the country, he had to overcome great odds to achieve success. Local teenagers often have no alternative but to become migrant rural labourers or wildcat gold seekers in the rivers of the Amazon. Trinta, however, wanted to be a professional dancer. In the early 1950s, he boarded a boat and sailed for Rio where he auditioned for Brazil's leading ballet dance group. His application was rejected because, being a diminutive five feet tall, he was not considered suitable for the job.

To survive, in his own words, he "fell back into reality" and began to design decorations for carnival ballrooms in hotels and social clubs around Rio. Trinta first started working with samba schools in 1968. By 1976, he had moved to Nilopolis, a town just north of Rio, and became the carnival master for Beija Flor, then an unknown samba school. He worked for Abrahao Diniz, one of Rio's most powerful godfathers of illegal gambling and the patron of Beija Flor. Diniz was ambitious and wanted to achieve some level of recognition to become a member of the inner circle of samba godfathers. So, he decided to present a show praising the Brazilian military dictatorship and commissioned Trinta to organize a luxurious parade saluting the so-called Brazilian miracle with the theme, "Wonder Years."

The parade was a success due to its sumptuous characters and creativity, but the intelligentsia reacted angrily. Intellectuals and opposition militants accused Trinta of political manipulation and using glitzy techniques to mislead the poor people of Rio's shantytowns. During the sour exchange of accusations, Trinta made his now-famous statement about favela (shantytown) dwellers and intellectuals ("intellectuals like poverty – the poor adore opulence"). His controversial words propelled the one-time frustrated professional dancer from anonymity in 1976 to the most well-known personality in the Brazilian carnival today.

Fifteen carnivalas later, the left surrendered itself to the exuberant charm and creativity of this carnival wizard. The reconciliation started in 1989 when Trinta shocked carnival

lovers with a parade in which luxury gave way to poverty. Instead of opulence, he featured beggars and garbage; the euphoria of the "Wonder Years" was replaced by social criticism.

Even the Catholic Church went wild when Trinta announced that he would open the parade with a replica of Rio's famous Redentor statue (the towering Christ-image statue which dominates a hilltop in Rio) surrounded by beggars. The authorities were notified and, to avoid any confrontation, Beija Flor decided to engulf the replica in black plastic sheets. But Trinta hung a huge placard around the neck of the statue that read: "Even forbidden, look for us." To maximize the effect, Trinta hired real beggars from Rio's streets.

In spite of success, Trinta remains the antithesis of an idol. He is oblivious to money and has no fixed salary. His boss, Aniz Abrahao David, said that sometimes he pays his carnival master US$10,000 a month – and sometimes Trinta only requests $100 AS MONTHLY PAYMENT! He lives in a modest flat in a lower middle-class neighbourhood in Rio, though as carnival nears he moves to a small room next to the Beija Flor headquarters in Nilopolis.

Last year Trinta began a juvenile school of samba for young criminals and abandoned children. The school's Flor do Amanha (Tomorrow's Flower) paraded for the first time in the 1991 carnival and presented an emotionally charged show of hope and promise.

Exhausted and sweaty after a three-kilometer dance marathon (during the last Beija Flor parade he danced energetically three times down the full length of the one kilometer dance lane) Trinta confesses that he doesn't consider himself an idol. "This role is reserved for a Pelé, Ayrton Senna or Roberto Carlos (a Brazilian Julio Iglesias)," says Trinta. "I will never have money. I hate cars, yachts and expensive houses. My happiness is to see others happy. As for this happiness, I'll give all my money and my life."

Carlos Casthillo

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

Blond Ambition

EVERYONE KNOWS MADONNA as pop star and sex symbol par excellence, but how many know her as entrepreneur extraordinaire? Since her number one single in 1983, Madonna has racked up over 80 million sales of her records and earned well over US$130 million.

While she regularly appears on the cover of entertainment magazines, she was once pictured on the cover of a leading US business magazine with the headline "America's Smartest Businesswoman?". Her personal income for 1990 was estimated at $39 million and her latest tour, Blond Ambition, sold out in 27 cities.

"There's a lot of business stuff" said Madonna in a recent interview in a US celebrity magazine. "But that didn't come as a surprise. Besides, I love meetings with suits. I live for meetings with suits. I love them because I know they had a really boring week and I walk in there with my orange velvet leggings and drop popcorn in my cleavage and then fish it out and eat it. I like that. I know I'm entertaining them and I know that they know."

But what lies behind her unique-business acumen is her knack for playing to the public eye. When attention isn't focused on her music, it's zooming in on her conduct. She is regularly at the center of some media brouhaha, whether it's because of controversial remarks about abortion and censorhip, a highly publicized romance with American movie heartthrob Warren Beatty or her stormy marriage to actor Sean Penn.

Her videos, highly sexual and stylized, are designed to titillate and perhaps offend. One of her more recent videos, "Justify My Love," demonstrated her agility at capitalizing on controversy. When the video was yanked from television broadcast in the US by a music television channel, which claimed the video was too sexually explicit, Madonna cried censorship defending her work on live national TV. Naturally, sales of her video and song skyrocketed. In the video age, Madonna has realized that image is everything.

Her early days, typified by her look of punk trampiness, spawned a generation of teenage Madonna wanna-bes weighted down in gaudy costume jewelry and sporting lingerie as "outerwear" (to the dismay of parents).

She is continually updating and adding to her image. For her 1984 album *Like A Virgin*, her tastes ran to low-cut wedding dresses, while in the 1986 album *True Blue*, she cultivated a softer, more feminine appeal, expanding her audience to the over-20 set – another calculated risk that paid off.

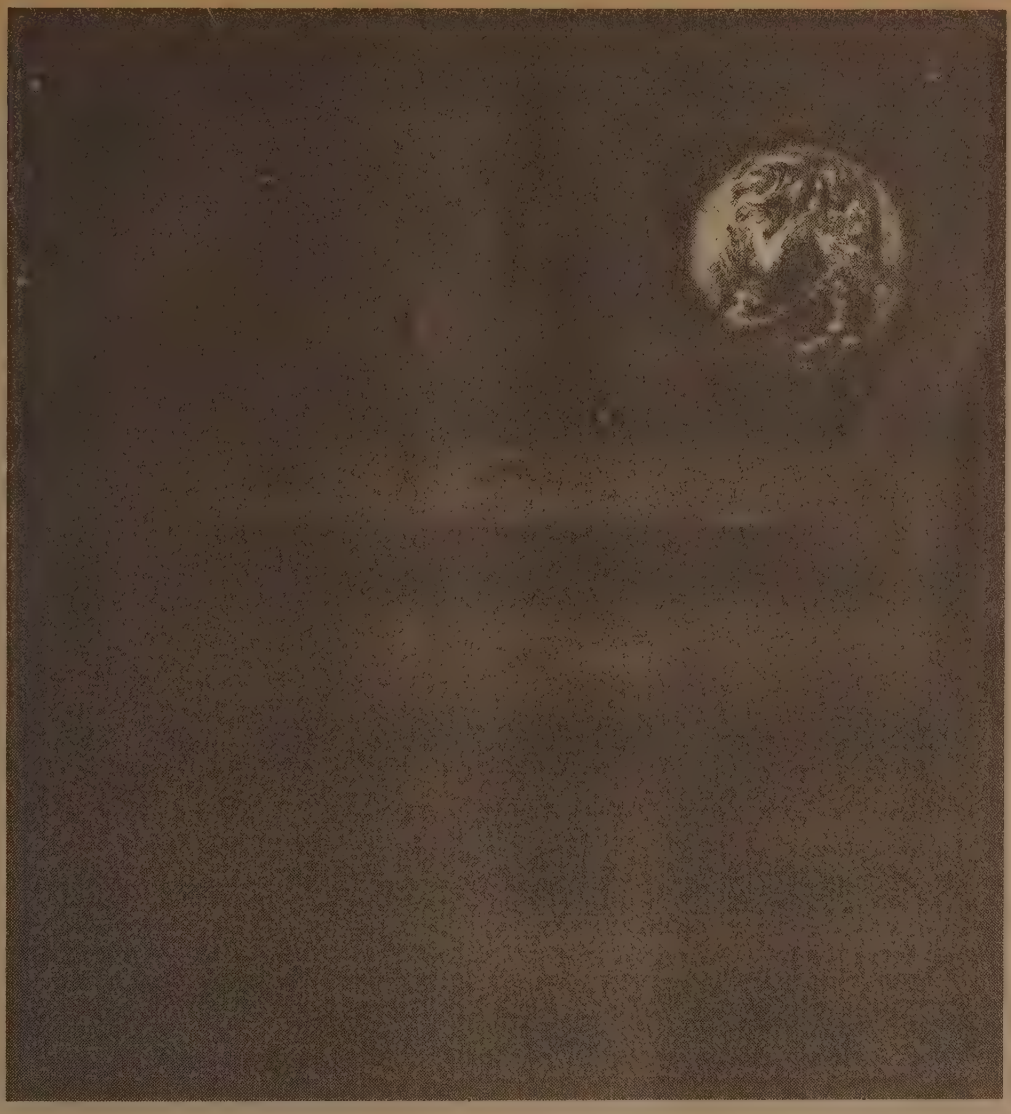
Last year, for her Blond Ambition tour, Madonna was looking more muscular and took to wearing a microphone headset with futuristic costumes and a white-blonde ponytail atop her head. Recently, she seems to be cultivating a slinkier and slightly more mature look reminiscent of Marilyn Monroe.

Given her pervasive notoriety and influence, that her music and videos would become the source of varied debate is inevitable. Some feminists hail her for chipping away at female stereotypes, while others criticize her for exploiting herself to make a fast buck. Taking the debate to a higher level, one US university professor was even inspired to embark upon a thesis entitled, "Like a Thesis: A Postmodern Reading of Madonna Videos."

All of which Madonna of course thrives on, as do her record sales. While sociologists discuss her work and moral groups condemn it, for the Material Girl, being at the top of the news has always meant being at the top of the charts."

Nelson Wang

BOSTON, USA



When a Broad View Is Taken, the World's Food Problems Don't Seem So Big

In some parts of our world, there is hunger. In other parts, there is abundance. The solution lies in taking a global perspective. At the Archer Daniels Midland Company, we've built a worldwide processing and transportation network that gets food from where it's grown to where it's needed as efficiently as possible. And that goes a long way toward bringing the world's food problems down to size.

ADM

SUPERMARKET TO THE WORLD

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

In this issue we introduce the reader to an excerpt from the pamphlet *Four Freedoms* by the Russian lawyer Evgeny Nikitich Tarnovsky. Published in St. Petersburg in 1906, the pamphlet produced far-reaching repercussions.

Although Evgeny Tarnovsky was not as famous as M. Kovalevsky, B. Kistyakovsky, A. Alexeyev, I. and V. Gessen, P. Novgorodtsev, S. Kotlyarevsky and other leading Russian jurists, his contribution to pre-October 1917 topical journalism concerned with legal subjects was substantial. He specialized in a rather narrow field – criminal statistics – for the most part. His research into the effect of alcoholism on criminality was highly thought of by experts. A group of scientists dealt, under his leadership, with the problem of the influence of "war brutality" on civil crime. Many works by Tarnovsky are hard to find – they are scattered over periodicals, provincial ones included. The best known are his popular books devoted to the record of foreign democratic practices, to the problems of constitutionalism, parliamentarism and human rights. *Four Freedoms* is one of them.

From this book by Tarnovsky we have selected fragments on problems of law-governed state and individual freedom which struck us as having lost none of their topical value to this day. The author regards individual freedom as an aspect of civil freedom guaranteed in the law-governed state, its three other aspects being freedom of the press, freedom of conscience and freedom of assembly, unions and petitioning. In the section on individual freedom much space is given to the freedom of movement.

Please do not get impatient at Tarnovsky's long excurses to history. They are worth your while not only from the angle of their information value. He sees the development of the positive – i.e., practical – civil freedom as quite a long process in political history. This process, however, is of an objective and progressive nature.

As compared with the age of the individual freedom idea and the duration of its historical materialization, seventy-odd years of no freedom which interrupted the progressive expansion of civil freedom on one-sixth of the globe's land, plus six years of the attempts to return to the "right track" are not much of a period. But life is short, and we want our state to draw, at last, upon other countries' time-tested experience they have accumulated over the ages. There is no denying the fact that today we are freer to think, speak and act as we please. But "freer" is comparative, not superlative degree. Especially for what is commonly known as the "homo sovieticus," who still consists of the body, the soul and the passport.

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

Body, soul and passport

Evgeny Tarnovsky (1859–?)

The modern law-governed state, whatever its particular distinguishing features, certainly recognizes – and by force of its basic principles should recognize – the so-called subjective public rights, in other words, personal rights, the rights to freedom. A precise definition of personal rights as regards the state and the restriction of the state's rights as regards the individual is the most salient feature which distinguishes the law-governed state – a product of European civilization – from the state of the antiquity or from the absolute police state of the 17th-18th centuries... The inner meaning of all the political movements in the civilized world over the past two or three centuries boils down to a gradual liberation of the individual from oppression on the part of the Church and the State to the broadening and consolidation of personal rights, to their recognition and formalization by the state. Since the time of the Reformation and to a still greater extent, since the time of the revolution, the individual has gained in stature, and the state has been compelled to retreat, to change, to adapt itself to the imperative demands of the individual reason and individual conscience of its formerly dumb and rightless subjects.

England is regarded as the birthplace of *individual freedom* in the sense of guaranteeing it against arbitrary restriction or destruction by the rulers or other persons. In England, the right of the individual to be his own master until this right is restricted in some way or other on strictly legal grounds rather than at the discretion of the powers that be was recognized earlier than on the continent. In this sense the English were guaranteed the rights to individual freedom already by famous Article 39 of the *Magna Carta* (1215) which said: "No free man shall be arrested or imprisoned or disseised or outlawed or exiled or in any way victimized, neither will we (the King) attack him or send anyone to attack him, except by the lawful judgement of his peers or by the law of the land." In these words, the English Crown waived, as early as at the beginning of the 13th century, its right to administer punishment to its subjects "except by lawful judgement or by the law of the land."

Guided by the *Magna Carta,* and firmly bearing it in mind that "no free man shall be arrested or imprisoned" by illegal order – even if given by the King – the English steadfastly upheld the principles of individual freedom; their victorious fight against absolutism culminated in the famous *Habeas Corpus Act* (the principle underlying it took shape towards the end of the 15th century and the law itself was enacted in 1679. – **Ed.**).

Essentially, the habeas corpus procedure consists in the following: anyone who thinks he has been detained illegally has the right to apply for a writ requiring that the detainee be immediately brought before a court to inquire into the lawfulness of his imprisonment. The application for the writ can be made up and tendered not only by the detainee himself, but also by his attorney, relative or any other person who has volunteered to protect his interests. Upon considering the application the court is to issue the writ required without delay. The court can turn down an application for the habeas corpus writ if the arrested person is accused of high treason or a serious crime and if substantial evidence has been produced against him... The court starts hearing the case immediately. It either acquits the defendant, releases him on bail, or sends him back to prison. A sentence of acquittal is passed if the arrest has turned out to be illegal and if there are no legal grounds for the defendant's imprisonment...

At present continental European countries have come to recognize, after Britain's example, the right to individual freedom, i.e.,the right to protection against arbitrary arrest, exile, search or other punitive actions except in cases precisely defined by the law and falling within the criminal courts' jurisdiction. In particular, the practice of arresting suspects without instituting proceedings against them, once used by the authorities as a means of struggle against political opponents has been fully abolished in modern Europe. Taking the accused into custody is now just a measure to prevent him escaping trial rather than a government-sanctioned disciplinary action having nothing to do with the accusation of a certain crime. It is a universally accepted rule in Western Europe that arrest warrants can be issued by the court of law. This warrant has to be precisely motivated and exercised with due respect shown for personal rights. Private home, just as private individuals, are inviolable to any officer having no search or arrest warrant issued by legal authorities. The privacy of personal correspondence is also inviolable. All these personal rights are guaranteed by modern European constitutions.

These constitutional guarantees apart, individual freedom is respected by criminal legislation of all the European countries. In its development, criminal law follows the overall progress of the forms of state organization. One of the reasons for popular discontent with the regime of absolute monarchy was harshness of punishments and an extreme one-sidedness and bias of investigation (then called inquisition). Democratization of the state system enhances the sense of moral solidarity between various social strata and results in the mitigation of legal punishments which under absolutism were intended to intimidate the recalcitrant, to be a lesson to them. The spreading recognition of the inviolability of personal rights shows in the law courts' attitude to those accused of or condemned for even serious crimes. The modern state and society regard the criminal not as a dangerous enemy to be dealt with unscrupulously but as a human being who, although guilty of a misdeed, has the right to humane treatment which rules out humiliation and brutality.

In the field of investigation, the triumph of the principle of individual freedom manifests itself in the gradual ousting of the inquisitorial criminal procedure by an accusatorial one. The accused is no longer an inert mass in the hands of investigators who have full discretion to decide his fate, as was the case in the good old times. Now the defendant fights the prosecution (hence the name "accusatorial trial"), defending his personality, his honour and his freedom by all legal means...

Further evolution in this sphere is conditioned by a gradual development of consciousness and respect for individual freedom in the midst of society and reflects its aspirations and the inclinations of the state. Any turn to intolerance, to the exclusive domination of certain views will inevitably lead – against the background of growing class antagonisms – to regress in the sphere of anti-crime policy.

In critical moments, when the state is threatened with a serious danger of disintegration or a violent coup, it resorts for purposes of self-defence to extraordinary measures against public order violation... That is to say, the modern law-governed state based on principles of political freedom and equality resorts to force in certain cases in order to protect itself, although, generally speaking, such cases are extremely rare in countries of genuine parliamentary democracy. In such countries the public can always give vent to its discontent and voice its demands in the press, at public meetings, during public manifestations and, last but not least, in parliament. Violence is morally unacceptable, of course. Popular masses in Western Europe do not consider it ethical to use violent methods of struggle. We see that even agitation carried on by socialists of every hue does not cause armed clashes with employers and attack on the authorities, as would have certainly been the case in a country of low cultural and moral standards under the calls for "expropriating the expropriators." The cult of violence, dominating in culturally backward countries and states having no political freedom, leads to a situation where the people – which, like the ruling classes, have no respect for the law and for other individuals freedom – either fear and grovel at the feet of theauthorities or express their protest in savage and unrestrained forms to the ecstatic shouts of "We have overcome them at last!" Nothing of the sort is to be seen now in the countries of old culture which have been enjoying the blessings of political freedom.

Serfdom and bureaucratic arbitrary rule inevitably produce the passport regime

If extraordinary measures to protect public order are taken, their scale and intensity are in inverse proportion to the nation's standard of culture and political tact. In Britain, the cradle of European political freedom, the state of siege or martial law, as we Russians or even Germans and the French know it, is never imposed at all...

As far as Russia is concerned, there is nothing we can say with respect to individual freedom and personal immunity. In this context, however, there is much to say about tight security measures, about martial law and the state of siege, about banishment, about police surveillance, etc. What can be said about individual freedom in Russia? Russia and individual freedom are two strangers who haven't met yet and who know nothing about one another. As to security measures, I feel positively awkward to discuss them. Who does not know about these measures and who would enjoy discussing them? As the French saying goes, name not a rope in his house that was hanged. The saying is most appropriate in this particular case. We can restrict ourselves to it on the question of individual freedom in Russia. Some may say, though, "And what about the fundamental laws adopted on April 23, 1906?" Don't they guarantee individual freedoms, even though in general terms? Take Article 31, for instance: "No one shall be taken into custody except in cases provided for by the law"; or Article 33: "Everyone's home is inviolable and cannot be searched without its occupant's consent except in cases and in accordance with the procedure provided for by the law." These fundamental laws do exist, but it is obviously too early yet to take the guarantees they offer seriously. In more or less remote future the right to individual freedom will, perhaps, be reliably guaranteed, but today these "constitutional" proclamations of personal immunity and the inviobility of the home sound ironic. I even have my doubts about the likelihood of firm principles of political freedom being established in Russia in the future – in the near future, at any rate. The upper and, of course, the lower strata of our public have too little political education and political tact.

We have lived long enough under a regime of lawlessness and arbitrary rule to lose on the whole the lucidity of mind and the sense of moral duty, respect for other people's and our own rights, to retain in the innermost recesses of our psyche the instinctive worship of strength rather than of law and morality. This does not apply, of course, to individuals and even to the Russian intelligentsia on the whole but to the ill-educated (both lower and upper) strata of the population who, being so numerous, set the tone on the country's political scene. No social system is immutable, of course. Abrupt changeovers to other forms of political life, hitherto unknown, are possible, but these new forms will hardly be permeated (within a certain period at any rate) with the spirit of real freedom and respect for personal rights...

Closely connected with the right to individual freedom is the *freedom of movement,* the right to change one's place of residence within the state or to go outside its limits. This right is of a most ancient origin: before the states took shape as sharply outlined territorial units each person was free, of course, to travel or to resettle at his own discretion. In the antiquity and in the Middle Ages, slavery and serfdom respectively kept most people within certain regions or domains; on the other hand, free citizens could travel or move from place to place without any special restrictions imposed on them by the state. In the feudal epoch, a townsman wishing to move from one town to another was compelled by the local authorities to go through all sorts of restrictive formalities, while state control over travellers or resettlers was slight. It was only the police state in the form of an absolute monarchy that began to keep a close eye on its subjects' movements. For fairness' sake it must be noted that apart from the police states, freer systems of government also occasionally resorted to the passport system as a means of controlling their citizens' movements.

In England, that old champion of political freedom, no restrictions have ever been imposed on the freedom of movement. Even in the gloomy epoch of the Tudors and the Stuarts, the principle of the freedom of movement was never violated and the Puritan Independents, for instance, forced to emigrate to America by the 17th century religious persecutions, needed neither the government's permission nor passports to leave the country. Unlike the continent – France, for example – Britain has never had a passport system. The British have always been and still are able to travel inside the country and need no passports to go abroad unless the passports are required by the countries they go to. By now the passport system has been abolished in Germany... Instead, Germany has the so-called legitimation system under which all those residing on the German territory have to produce on the authorities' demand their identification papers in whatever form. Such demands, however, are made in special cases only; traveller identification control is not a standard procedure.

Our people have been deprived of rights and freedoms for so long that even at large they kowtow to their superiors

As to Russia, any child knows, of course, that it is a classical passport system country and that "a Russian consists of the body, the soul and the passport." Remarkably, Moscow Rus in the pre-Peter the Great times and, of course, in the epoch preceding the formation of the Moscow State, the Russians enjoyed practically full freedom of movement within national limits. Restrictions on foreign travel, however, were imposed rather early (but not earlier than the beginning of the 16th century). This observance of one of the "individual freedom" principles in the Moscow State notoriously lacking in any freedoms is hardly surprising. The administrative system of pre-Peter Rus was too simple for the authorities to pay much attention to controlling the movements of the population; on the other hand, the desolate spaces of that almost uncivilized state were too vast and its semi-nomad people, naturally, settled down among the primeval woods and thickets of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia. Under the circumstances, the Moscow government was in no position to follow the movements of the popular masses and it was only after the peasants had been turned into serfs that the question of introducing a system whereby they could be confined to the land they worked on arose in earnest...

None other than Peter I was the first and the most vigorous organizer of this system. Having transformed the loose and ill-organized Moscow tsardom into a kind of a militarized police state after the European fashion of those times, Peter I introduced conscription and the poll tax and, leaning on serfdom, which had already existed, hastened to bind his subjects hand and food by a rigid passport system. As early as in 1719, a notable decree was issued, saying, "no one shall go from town to town and from village to village without passes; everyone shall carry a passport or a pass signed by his superior." Those who carried no such papers were to be looked upon as "ill-intentioned or downright thieves." Since then the passport system is known to have been "refined to perfection" in the atmosphere of serfdom and bureaucratic arbitrary rule. It has come so much to the liking of our police regime and served tax collection and other fiscal purposes so well that no serious attempts have ever been made to lift or moderate restrictions on the freedom of movement. Neither are such attempts being made now despite the solemn declaration of the principles of individual freedom in the October 17 Manifesto and in the Fundamental Laws of April 23, 1906. And this despite the fact that the restoration of the freedom of movement principle is a pressing need for our country with its vast spaces, enormous migration movement and a still bigger flows of seasonal workers moving in and out of various parts of the Empire. All the artificial barriers and the attempts to confine people to a certain territory or region only go to stir up more discontent and irritation and are not of much help to the police in keeping tabs on and controlling the movements of the population.

When the mind goes blank

Leonid Ionin

It is said not without reason that the end of the century will see the death of utopia. Talk of this kind is prompted mainly by the disastrous completion of the experiment for implementing the Marxist idea of building a perfect society. The terrible setback casts a shadow on the remote past, the entire history of utopia. As a result, the most violent critics of utopian schemes regard the medieval predecessors of the socialist doctrine – More or Campanella – as all but early Stalinists and consider the interest in socialism as a criminal inclination.

Real socialism, in whatever country it was established, had undoubtedly a totalitarian character to a greater or lesser degree. This gave rise to a historical and philosophical concept which says that totalitarianism has its origins in utopia. So totalitarianism is bred by utopia.

I think it is simply a "short circuit" in historical thinking, quite understandable in our age of an information explosion. In fact, the relationship between utopia and totalitarianism and between socialism and totalitarianism has a very complicated character. In the Soviet Union, the totalitarian regime appeared not simply as an embodiment of socialist utopia, but a **Russian** embodiment of socialist utopia. In other countries it was either imposed by force or took shape on their own soil. But it looked different than that in the USSR. In each case totalitarianism has a complex and indirect connection with socialism and utopianism.

Only one of the numerous variants of socialism, the one connected with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was put into practice. The variants proposed by Bernstein, Kautsky, Bauer and others were not accepted for one or another reason. What factors are to blame – the internal dialectics of the socialist utopian theory and totalitarianism or such attendant circumstances as national traditions, wars, reversals of the political situation and the personal qualities of leaders?

Only decades if not centuries of historical research can give a more or less grounded answer. There is no such answer yet.

History as a science requires much time and assiduity, the weighing of pros and cons and the comparison of facts. So far the mind, excited by the present and coming social upheavals, hastens to explain the current events as if from itself and passes sentences on itself.

In the opinion of Western critics of utopian ideas, totalitarianism is a product of the total pretensions of the mind characteristic of the age of Enlightenment. The mind ceased to believe in traditions, what had grown historically and naturally, so to speak. It dared to establish its own abstract criteria of the truth, good and justice. The abstract means universal, obligatory for everyone.

Hence the direct road to totalitarian violence. Indeed, if there is truth or justice obligatory for everyone, what can restrain the men who come to power from inculcating this truth in the minds of compatriots and introducing this justice into their lives? It is a direct path from reason to violence.

Thus, if we want to avoid totalitarianism we must abandon reason or, more exactly, its pretensions to the universality of the truths discovered by it. Let people live as their own traditions and experience prompt them. This will be genuine democracy without any utopian ideals and the discovery of principles allegedly obligatory for all peoples.

This idea, born in the 1930s, is very popular now.

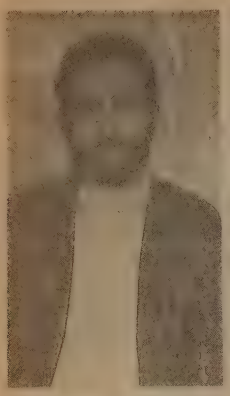
But let us ask ourselves: can a democratic society live without universal principles equally binding for all? Can democracy exist without the obligatory principle of universal human rights, without the universal recognition of the rules of a political game? These rules are used to reach compromises, reconciliation between various, sometimes diametrically opposite interests and to attain public agreement or consensus.

However, these rules are universal and obligatory for all. I wonder how long democracy could exist if they were not observed. I am afraid that the rejection of universal rules would mean an early death of democracy. The renunciation of abstract rules leaves room in the minds of people for other, quite concrete guiding principles and ideas, the idea of national unity, for instance. Nature abhors a vacuum. The history of German fascism shows the dangers of such a policy.

The struggle against utopianism, the struggle against socialism and the struggle against reason have proved closely connected with one another, but not because utopianism, socialism and reason are one and the same thing. It happened so rather because they appeared simultaneously in history and became closely interlaced, influencing one another. Man must unweave this motley carpet and determine the real worth of everything.

With regard to present-day politics and science this means that we should not hasten to damn utopianism and socialism. Personally, I am not an advocate of socialism in general and even less of its existing or former varieties. However, we should not draw premature conclusions dictated by transient political interests. In the beginning of the century such a thing happened to Russian Marxists and in 1917 to the Russian people, who concluded from the Marxist theory that they would be able to bring about general happiness. In its content this conclusion was directly opposite to what the opponents of utopianism say now. They claim that the realization of Marxist theory led to a general disaster.

As in the past, we now have a very hasty conclusion, a "short circuit," as I have said above. And a short circuit is a sign of the malfunctioning of the mind.



A new public organization "Christian Rebirth" is the branch of the International charity association of assistance to Orthodox Christians in Russia and Eastern Europe. The association called "Rebirth" and located in Paris is headed by historian **Valery Baidin.**

Following the 1917 October revolution, says the chairman, the church in this country was forcibly divided not so much from the state, which oppressed everyone and everything, than the cultural heritage and education. As a result, the believers in Russia are now in a state which the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia Alexi II has described as "religious savagery."

Baidin believes that the policy of denationalization of property followed by this country at present is creating the necessary legal preconditions for returning its cultural values to the church. But this will require considerable material expenditure and all-round intellectual support. The Christian Rebirth association aims at setting up church museums, restoring churches, resuming pilgrimages to the holy shrines in Russia and other countries, preparing special programs and opening a separate chanal on Christian TV. The association justly believes that the spiritual heritage of the Russian Orthodox Church belongs to the entire humanity and to restore it is necessary to pool the efforts not only of all the Christian world, but the nations of the Orient too.

Valery is a writer, although he has received a historical education. He had to leave the postgraduate course of the historical department of Moscow University because of his religious convictions and since then could not receive a job in his field. He earned his living publishing literary essays and critical articles. He never meddled in politics, because he understood that in the Soviet Union until recently it was possible to be either official or dissident politicians.

The International Trustee Council of the Association consisting of cultural, scientific, public and religious personalities and businessmen from all over the world, includes Dmitry Likhachev, Svyatoslav Richter, Olivier Cleman, Vittorio Strada, Sergei Averintsev and Boris Rauschenbakh.

***

Thirty-six-year-old British geologist and journalist **Peter Hadfield** was hardly the first to reveal to the Japanese the risk they are running creating an economic miracle in a most dangerous seismic region of the world. Hadfield's book *Sixty Seconds That Will Change the World*

will rather shock the readers in other countries, linked with Japan by thousands of ties.

Large-scale destructions in a major centre of the international economic life will inevitably lead to a global financial catastrophe, mass bankruptcies, soaring unemployment and chaos; in fact, life in the world can stop for an indefinite time.

Although he denies the wide-spread rumours about the possibility of another great Kanto quake of 1923, which took the toll of 140 thousand lives, Hadfield at the same time claims that in the near future the quakes are expected in the Shizuoka and Tokyo areas. Nevertheless he describes as meaningless the average figure taken from A.D. 813 up to the present day of how often Tokyo has been hit by major earthquakes. The mathematical average is 69 years. If we are to believe these calculations, the next earthquake is to take place in 1992.

Hadfield's book is the first ever analysis of the repercussions that a major earthquake in Japan would have. Although they are devastating, the book is certainly not scare-mongering. Wherever possible, Hadfield has erred on the side of caution. However, he says, strange as it may seem, the Japanese are not taking the coming disaster seriously, though Hadfield has no doubts about it. Few scientists who are trying to raise an alarm are not heeded. Meanwhile to get the same message across to an unhearing public, the former head of Japan's meteorological agency has taken the dramatic step of actually fleeing Tokyo.

The author of the *Sixty Seconds That Will Change the World* was born in London and upon completing his degree in geology at Kingston Polytechnic started work as an industrial geologist. But it was not until diamond prospecting took him to

A Millionaire and his colleagues

The public activity of 24-year-old **German Sterligov** is unprecedented in this country. He is the president of the Russian club of young millionaires – a new organization registered in April by the October regional executive council of Moscow. Sterligov's "colleagues" – there are 12 of them all told – are private persons representing various spheres of non-governmental and considerably free economy – banks, stock exchanges and commercial centres. Anyone under 35 who has the right to dispose of at least a million rubles can join the club. The entrance fee is quite impressive – 500 thousand rubles.

Soviet people have always felt suspicious about big money-bags. And the only Soviet millionaire we ever heard of was a character of the novel *The Little Golden Calf* by I. Ilf and Y. Petrov. However the charming Alexander Ivanovich Koreiko is described there quite sarcastically. That was the only millionaire described in Soviet literature, apparently due to a lack of precedent. One can get a million today on stock exchange speculations in a month. At least German Sterligov managed to do this. He began his career as a common worker, then worked as a shepherd, was a student and a cooperator. And half a year ago, when he bought a charming puppy, an equally charming idea occurred to him – to set up a stock exchange of building materials. The exchange was formed and named "Alice" – after the dog. Today it is one of the most prospering stock exchanges in the country. It has only six employees, and the worker's place costs 750 thousand rubles. During sales daily turnover reaches 12 million rubles, roughly 30 times greater than at the Russian stock market.

Business goes well. However, German considers his firm to be a parody, rather than a real stock market, since it has to function in conditions of a parody on market relations.

I. Koryagina

Australia that he began to wonder if life did not have more to offer. Today he successfully combines his journalistic gift with his love for geology and risk. Is he leaving Tokyo? "No, I'm sticking around," he says. "I want to be here to report on the earthquake when it happens."

S. Butin

***

Dr. Victor Sevastyanov, who lives in the province, has managed to do what even doctors from the country's capital have failed to – he restores the function of the optic nerve, in other words he restores sight to those doomed to blindness by traditional medicine.

The 48-year-old head of the neurological department of the Mari Republican children's hospital successfully combines medicines, physiotherapy and lazer therapy. The results are obvious – in the past 6 years Sevastyanov managed to restore the sight of 65 people. He treats not only those who lost sight as a result of a trauma, but those who were born blind and are considered incurable.

Most of Sevastyanov's patients are children from toddlers and older. Contrary to universally recognized routine, his treatment starts at the earliest age possible. Doctor Sevastyanov prefers his republic's capital to Moscow, since he is sure that in Yoshkar-Ola he will manage to carry out his plan and build an excellent hospital which could receive patients not only from this country, but from the rest of the world, where his treatment was met with interest. The republican authorities and local medics fully support his initiatives. In this respect they differ from Moscow celebrities, whose attitude to Victor Sevastyanov and to his treatment is quite sceptical.

***

The constituent congress of the Inter-Republican Union of Translators has been held in Moscow. The new Trade Union unites in its ranks Soviet and foreign translators. The president of the Union is **Leonid Gurevich,** a 56-year-old translator from French, one of the best representatives of the Soviet school of translation. A graduate of the Moscow State Linguistic University (that's the new name of the former M. Thorez State Institute of Foreign Languages), he translated into French more than 80 books on history, philosophy, economics and international relations. Since 1965 he has been working at the *Progress Publishers*. He spent eight years in Prague, working for the late magazine *World Marxist Review*.

Unfortunately, the profession of a translator enjoys little respect in this country. Translators are underpaid and this profession is not even included in a corresponding register of the State Committee for Labour and Social Affars. The president sees the task of the new Union in preserving and perfecting the traditions of the national school of translation and in defending the professional and social interests of translators.

Pyotr Mostovoy's "Risk"

At the International Festival of Short Films held in the German city of Oberhausen, Soviet film director **Pyotr Mostovoy**, the art leader of the Risk film studio was awarded a special prize of Interfilm. This prize, founded by the International Filmcentre of Evangelical Churches was awarded to Pyotr Mostovoy for the documentary *One of the Many Shooting Stars* about the dramatic fate of a Jewish woman from a little Lithuanian township.

Mostovoy went to a music school and received his first higher education at the physics department of he Leningrad Electrotechnical College. He worked at a scientific and research institute, played jazz, watched movies and enjoyed photography. This hobby changed his life: in 1965 Pyotr Mostovoy, a 27-year-old engineer, and his friend shot a 10-minute-long film *The Water of Life* about the white nights in Leningrad. The film was noticed immediately and even received the silver medal in Cannes and the gold medals in Budapest and Skoplje. Carrying the box with the film under his arm, Mostovoy came to the Leningrad studio of documentary films and applied for work. As an assistant cameraman (that was the only job he could be granted), Pyotr Mostovoy shot his famous film *Look at the Face*.

Mostovoy's candid camera shot visitors of the Hermitage in front of the beautiful face of Madonna Litta by Leonardo da Vinci. This film became a sort of a documentary classic and is studied in all cinematography schools of the world. While studying at the National Institute of Cinematography he made his debute as a film director in the movie *Only Three Lessons* (1968) and won the Golden Dragon grand prix at a film festival in Krakow. The film, made together with P. Kogan and called *Martial Music Band*, received the Golden Dove prize in Leipzig. Mostovoy is the author of forty odd documentaries and two feature films. He continued to work hard during the years of stagnation, although for 17 years he could not present his films abroad, because he wasn't let out of the country. Among his latest works are a feature-and-documentary film *Black Terror* and the film *Life is Fun* about Lev Trotsky. At present Mostovoy is one of the secretaries of the Moscow Union of Cinematographers. All the members of his family are connected with cinematography. His wife Marina works on television, his elder son Maxim is graduating from the cameramen department of the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography, and his daughter Polina has already played in three feature films.

Where are you, queen of hearts?

"Cards reciprocate my love for them," says Leonid Karetnikov, the USSR's No. 1 bridge player

Brilliant prospects have opened up before Soviet officers. Now they will be able, like their NATO colleagues, to polish their strategic thinking not only in the classrooms of the General Staff Academy but at bridge card tables as well. Our politicians will also have a chance to perfect their diplomatic skill thanks to bridge (incidentally, British MPs arrange annual bridge tournaments between the House of Lords and the House of Commons). And our artists will at last gain a truly profound insight into human psychology as they watch their bridge partners like Omar Sharif, the captain of his own bridge team does.

The game of bridge had been under a ban for years in the USSR until the All-Russian Sports Bridge League was formed here recently. The path to recognition was a thorny one. The overzealous limbs of the law arrested bridge players in clubs and even in private homes and took them into custody. Championships had to be held clandestinely. Then came perestroika with its motto of "everything that's not banned is permitted." Now Soviet people are free to play at cards in the open – not only games of chance like poker, but also bridge, universally recognized as a sport.

The League was formed on the occasion of the Soviet team having come out on top at the Seattle Goodwill Games where bridge was included in the official programme. After the "shocking news" reached it, the State Committee for Sports, which had "outlawed" bridge in 1973, granted the game the status of a sport. Incidentally, the news came as a surprise not only to Soviet officials, but to American and European players as well: the Russians, newcomers on the bridge scene, defeated the world's best teams to start with! They had only one point in their favour, but that proved enough to win them gold medals.

Some may wonder why a card game of chance is regarded as a sport.

"Bridge is an ideal intellectual gymnastic," says Leonid Karetnikov, president of the League. "It develops memory, logical thinking, the ability to quickly size up complicated situations. In sports bridge (as distinct from the rubber variety), the luck factor is reduced to a minimum. All depends on your skill, not on whether your cards are good or bad. We do not play for money, only for prizes, as is the case in any other sport."

Bridge fanatics say that this game is a compulsory subject in some Western schools. At bridge classes children learn independent thinking and independent decision making and develop into free individuals in the long run... The League has started teaching Soviet schoolchildren bridge since the age of 6 to 7. As a result, children have come to regard ordinary school subjects as boring; they have got so far ahead of their classmates that advanced schools, such as lyceums and studios, have been opened for them.

Bridge players are supposed to observe a strict "code of honour." It is not restricted to elementary taboos, such as placing one's feet on the table, shouting at the top of one's voice or using bad language. The ethical norms are strict: traditionally, you are not supposed to look your partner straight in the eyes as if trying to penetrate his thoughts or to wear casual dress at bridge sessions. For our players who – like all Soviet citizens – have only a dim notion of civilized ways bridge tournaments where the tuxedo is a formal dress involve serious problems, material ones included. Far from being prohibited, alcoholic drinks are sold unrestrictedly at the games, which is a strong temptation. Nevertheless, drunken men are never to be seen at bridge tournaments.

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

"The world's bridge players constitute a mafia of sorts," Karetnikov says. "The game generates an amazing team spirit in a good sense of the word, as distinct from, say, chess. Chess players are extreme individualists, as they admit themselves. With us it's different. I am certain that a bridge player is guaranteed every cooperation if he meets at least one colleague in any city."

Bridge teaches how to find ingenious solutions to problems, to keep one's emotions in check (a game is a game, after all), to use logic and psychology. But not only that. Bridge also enables our players to make a "comparative analysis" of the psychology of the "Homo Sovieticus" and that of a person unfamiliar with the Soviet way of life. Some time ago, Leonid Karetnikov went to the United Kingdom for a tournament...

"We played versus a pair of English old ladies, each aged 80 or so. The one who sat on my right-hand side looked genuinely aristocratic and glittered with jewels. The one to my left was a typical Miss Marple, Agatha Christie's favourite, with a sly twinkle in her eyes. The game was a most complicated one – success promised a large number of points, and failure was fraught with a huge loss. The whole problem was for me to guess which of my ladies had the queen of hearts. In principle such a guess is not too hard to make (the knowledge of psychology is of help here) – an inexperienced player betrays himself by an instant change in his behavior. But the ladies were perfectly inscrutable, none of them as much as batted an eyelid. In the end, "Miss Marple" screwed up an eye,

ever so slightly – a telltale sign, or maybe it was only an illusion. The eyes can betray everything, but you are not supposed to look at your partner. In a word, we won, and in big way, too. And then an incredible thing happened. Never before had I seen anyone who looked happier than those two losers. What caused such a joy was more than a Soviet person can understand. They were happy about the extremely interesting cards that had come their way, and they were eager to share this joy with others. Later they brought their friends over to my room every day and asked me to tell how I had guessed who had the queen of hearts. I improvised a story which actually was almost true. I am very fond of cards, I started playing at the age of three, and cards are, of course, my children's favourite toys. Sometimes I see what I call "card dreams." Those are exciting dreams. Here is one: I walk into a foodstore and ask the salesgirl to slice some cheese for me. The amazing thing is not that they have cheese on sale, but that the slices begin to turn, right before my eyes, into a deck of cards: sevens, nines, tens, aces, kings... As for the old ladies, I told them the following story: cards reciprocate my love for them. And when I need the queen, I whisper softly, "where are you, queen of hearts?" To which she replies, as softly: "I'm here." The story was a success...

Our bridge players have ample chance to gain psychological experience: many tournaments are held across the world. They include the traditional matches between members of the Chinese government and those held in one of Rome's central squares and drawing tens of thousands of fans.

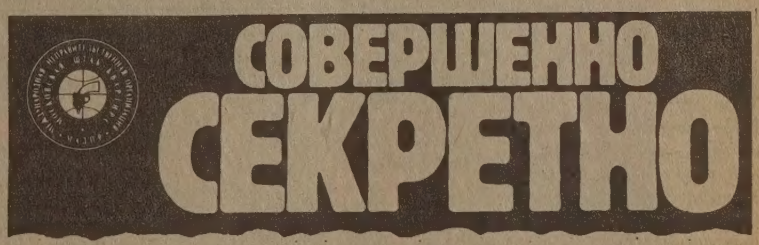
Japan's Epson company organizes its annual tournament. All over the world people gather in their clubs and sit down at card tables simultaneously and play identical hands "dealt out" to them by the Paris headquarters of the World Bridge Federation. Umpires are appointed and the results of the games are reported to Paris. The winner gets the company's prize – a computer. Last year the tournament drew 85,000 participants from 94 countries – all the countries affiliated with the World Federation (the All-Russian League became its 94th member). The games were played in the television towers of Tokyo, London, Paris, New York – and Moscow. This year's tournament is also to be held in television towers. Jacques Chirac, the Mayor of Paris and a bridge player, is going to come to Moscow for the tournament. The League invites all those interested to take part in the tournament opening on June 7.

The bridge situation here is not all that simple – we can't play it easily, merrily and without problems. Bridge is neither tennis nor soccer, it is not a commercial sport. International tournaments usually gather wealthy people of independent means. In our country, such people are few and far between. It is difficult to earn big money on bridge, therefore there are no serious commercialists among bridge players. Like in any new undertaking, the whole question rests on our lack of money. A multitude of typical Soviet difficulties stands in the way of bridge's spread in this country. Having no permanent premises of their own, bridge players roam from place to place like cheap fortune-tellers. The doors of the All-Russian Sports Bridge League are open to all the organizations prepared to help us set up and furnish clubs and to rent us premises (our telephone: 245–31–55). As a result, a professional Russian bridge team will be formed, which is certain to do well at international tournaments (incidentally, such tournaments are used as major advertising media). Those in the League realize, of course, that bearskin dressing is a much more profitable business – all the more so that bears are still to be found in Russian forests. But the League hopes that generous benefactors are not an extinct species in Russia either.

Tatiana Chernova

ALL SECRETS ARE OPEN SECRETS

TO



Top Secret newspaper

Undercover operations carried out by the KGB and foreign secret services, historical documents which are a match for detective stories and thrillers, political essays – and more...
That unique newspaper, *Sovershenno Sekretno,* has found regular readers in the USA, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Israel, Poland and, of course, the USSR – an audience totalling 3,500,000.

in Moscow: 202-20-11, 291-98-62, 291-51-44
Fax: 230-21-70. Telex: 411323

© НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ DESIGN

Church and politics

Aleksiy II, the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia answers questions from Yuri Lebedev of *New Times*

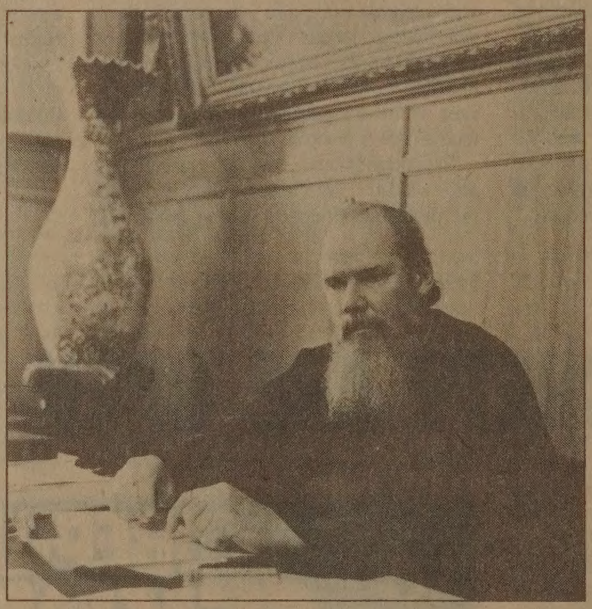
N.T. Your Eminence, priests have become people's deputies in various places of the country. Recently, the parish council of the Cathedral of St. Dmitry in the village of Sima, Vladimir Region, has nominated you for the President of Russia. What is the Russian Orthodox Church's attitude to political activism?

P.A. I have been asked several times: how do priests feel in a country where the Church is sepated from the state when they get elected to the bodies of state power? How should such priests behave? Here is what I offer for an answer. We are separated from the state, and we think that it is right. But we have never been separated from society and we represent the interests of the believers in the elective bodies of power, serving as elected representatives of the people. I would like to stress that we are elected as nominees of public organizations, not the Church. I for one was elected People's Deputy of the USSR from the Soviet Health and Charity Foundation, although I was also nominated in a regular constituency. However, I preferred to be the Foundation's candidate, because the Church has always advocated moral health of society and the cause of charity. Very unfortunately, the word "charity" was removed from our every-day vocabulary and it is only now that charity is making a come back to our lives and our souls, thanks God. My participation in the activities of the committee charged with working out the USSR Law on Freedom of Conscience and in the Supreme Soviet discussions concerning the draft of that law has been very useful. I represented the interests of Churches and religious communities of this country, and the committee has heeded many suggestions put forward by the Holy Synod and the Bishop's Council. As for the involvement in the political life, the church is absolutely opposed to her priests' membership in any political party, because in case of such a membership the priest will not be objective to his flock, giving more sympathy to his political comrades. We advocate integrity of society, mutual understanding, tolerance and an end to the confrontation and division so acutely felt in this country today.

N.T. What must be done to prevent social and ethnic conflicts from being aggravated by religious strife?

P.A. In our approach to ethnic relations, we are guided by the words of Apostle Paul: "There is neither Greek nor Jew,.. bond nor free; but Christ is all, and in all."

That is why we must always oppose ethnic and religious strife. The Orthodox Church, although she is called the Russian Orthodox Church, is multinational, because there are Orthodox believers who live also in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldova, the Baltics. I have been addressed by the Mufti of Uzbekistan and the Chief Rabbi, who suggested that heads of Churches and religious communities active in the USSR convene for a conference. In principle we have agreed to arrange a meeting of representatives of Islam, Judaism, the Protestant Churches, Old Believers and the Russian Orthodox Church. It is only through the joint effort that we will be able to overcome interethnic tensions, settle religious conflicts and contribute to the establishment of social peace and concord in our Fatherland.



Patriarch Aleksey II: the Church is separated from the state, but not from society

All citizens of this country without any exception must enjoy equal rights. We cannot be indifferent to the fate of Russian people living outside of Russia where ethnic tensions are aggravating. When our compatriots are called "migrants" or "occupiers," I believe this is a human rights violation and a personal insult. Intolerance must be overcome, people must treat each other as sisters and brothers, as compatriots."

N.T. Your Eminence, what could you say about the relations between the Russian Orthodox Church and our compatriots abroad?

P.A. Since the 1960s, when I visited France, the United States and other countries, I have always tried to meet our compatriots living abroad. In August we are planning the convention of a Congress of Compatriots in the USSR and we are prepared to take a most active part in this undertaking.

N.T. Centrifugal processes are gaining momentum in the USSR. What is your attitude to these processes?

P.A. Historically, Russia assembled separated principalities into a single whole and Russia's strength has always been her unity. If we disunite, we will lose the weight we have had and have now in the international arena. Today we are prepared to split into republics, regions, districts, individual cities and towns, to set up "free economic zones" in which people hope to save themselves from the economic crisis. However, the experience tells us that unity means strength. How can separate republics, or regions, solve their economic problems without the help from other regions of the country? There are years-old economic ties, exchange of raw materials, various parts and assemblies. The factories and plants may stop working. What about human contacts, family ties, mixed marriages? These can't be broken overnight. We say that each republic has the right to cede, if its people so desires, we respect the people's right to self-determination. But there must be a transition period, so that human and economic ties would not be severed. We are on the brink of a catastrophe. If we continue to disunite, regarding each other as enemies, not associated and compatriots, we may never live to see a better life. ■

SALYUT

The Moscow Garment-Making Association *Salyut* offers foreign firms to organize mutually profitable joint production of garments.

Address: 27, Sushchevskaya Ulitsa,
Moscow 103030. USSR.
Tel.: 258-29-82; Fax: 258-79-36; Teletype: 113-353 KROY.

ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЕ АГЕНТСТВО
реклама

The beauty of the Soviet Union.

See it with Intourservice.

Intourservice is the only choice for the discriminating traveler or sophisticated business executive in the Soviet Union. Our personalized attention to every detail will ensure that you get the trip you want.

Our range of services includes organizing tourist and business trips to all cities in the USSR; individual and group excursions to estates, museums and exhibit halls in Moscow and surrounding regions; trips to Russia's most ancient and beautiful cities along the Golden Ring; visits to theaters, concert halls, sporting and cultural events. We also offer a one-day excursion to Zvyozdny Gorodok - the cosmonaut training center that was recently opened to foreigners.

Our complete line of amenities includes accommodation in Moscow's finest hotels, limousine class rental cars and drivers, as well as lunches, dinners, banquets, and receptions in Moscow's best restaurants. We also provide interpreters and translators, including business translation.

With Intourservice, you're guaranteed success.

Payment is in hard currency.
We accept credit cards and traveler's checks.

We also deliver food, alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, cigarettes and confectionary goods to any place in Moscow - for duty-free prices. Call 287-3981 from 9am to 6pm. 5% discount for large orders.

IS
intour
SERVICE
USSR FOREIGN TRAVEL &
TRADE SHARE HOLDING COMPANY

16 Prospekt Marksa,
Moscow 103009
telex: 411211
fax : (095) 2001243
tel. 203-3191